



THIRTY-FIFTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;
AND THE ADDRESSES
DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,
January 20, 1852.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT GOING TO LIBERIA; THINGS WHICH EVERY
EMIGRANT OUGHT TO KNOW; MESSRS. FULLER AND JANIFER'S
REPORT; AND A TABLE OF EMIGRANTS.

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THIRTY-FIFTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20th, 1852.

Annual Meeting—Decease of distinguished Members.

In the order of a kind Providence, we are permitted, this evening, to celebrate the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. While with grateful hearts, we acknowledge the goodness of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, under whose special superintendence our cause has continued to progress, we are called to bow in humble submissiveness to His sovereign will, in view of the afflictive dispensations of His providence, by which this Society has been deprived of the living example and co-operation of several of its warmest friends and most devoted advocates. Three of these were Vice Presidents of the Society—the RT. HON. LORD BEXLEY of England, who for many years was a zealous advocate and generous supporter of the cause in which we are engaged, and whose influence tended in no small degree to advance the interests of the Republic of Liberia in Great Britain; the REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D., of Princeton, N. J., whose

fame is in all the churches; and who was an earnest and practical advocate of the African colonization enterprise from its formation to the time of his death; regarding it as of God, and consequently worthy of the hearty co-operation of all who desire to be laborers together with Him in carrying out the great object of His providential arrangement with respect to that particular class of the human family for whose benefit the enterprise was originated; and the REV. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., LL.D., who for several years previous to his death, occupied the distinguished position of President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., and whose fame as an eminent divine, and devoted practical philanthropist, will be handed down to posterity, embalmed with the grateful remembrance and admiration of the lovers of moral grandeur and Christian purity. Nor are these all of the warm friends and generous patrons of this Society who have been removed by death since our last Anniversary

Donations—Receipts last year.

We have been called upon to record the departure of others ; among whom we may make special allusion to the HON. JAMES McDOWELL, ex-Governor of Virginia, who was long and familiarly known as an eloquent advocate of African colonization ; the REV. THOMAS H. GALLAUDET, D.D. LL.D., of Connecticut, universally known as the founder of Deaf and Dumb Institutions in the United States, and numbered among the warmest friends of this Society ; JOSIAH SHEDD, M. D., of Peacham, Vermont, who left a legacy of \$4,000 to the Society ; THOMAS D. MERRILL of Concord, N. H., who bequeathed \$1,000 to the Society ; ABRAHAM G. THOMPSON of New York, who by will made this Society one of his residuary legatees, by which we hope to realize upwards of \$30,000 ; NATHANIEL STORRS of Boston, who also made this Society a residuary legatee of his estate, from which we shall probably derive \$5,000, or more ; AUGUSTUS GRAHAM of Brooklyn, N. Y., who bequeathed to this Society the sum of \$10,000 "to be invested in some safe and productive manner, the income and interest of which is to be annually applied towards the support and establishment of schools in Liberia ;" and Miss SARAH WALDO of Worcester, Mass., from the executors of whose estate we have already received \$6,000, the amount

of a legacy left by her to this Society ; which amount, added to \$7,000 received from the estate of her sister Elizabeth, who made this Society one of her residuary legatees, together with the legacy of \$10,000 received from the estate of her brother, the Hon. Daniel Waldo, the decease of both of whom was noticed in a former Report, makes \$23,000 received by bequest from these three benevolent and exemplary friends of the colonization enterprise ; besides numerous liberal donations made during their lifetime.

In addition to these liberal bequests, we have had intimations of other legacies made, or to be made, to this Society ; which shows that the importance of the colonization enterprise is not lost sight of by some of the Christian philanthropists of our country, who desire to return to Him from whom cometh every good gift, the substance with which, in the order of his providence, they have been favored.

The total amount of the receipts of the Society from all sources, during the past year, were \$97,443.77—a much larger amount than was received during any preceding year ; which, however, includes the sum of \$37,500 received from the United States Government by virtue of an act of Congress passed at the last session for the relief of the American Colonization Society, in consideration of various expenses in-

Emigrants sent to Liberia.

curring and means used by this Society in the care and support of the liberated Africans who were landed at Monrovia from the slave-ship "Pons," in December, 1845.

During the past year, we have sent 676 emigrants to Liberia. Had we not been partially thwarted by circumstances beyond our control, in reference to the emigration, during the past year, of others whom we expected to send, and who will probably go during the present year, the total number of emigrants for the year 1851 would have been considerably greater.

Of the whole number sent during the year, 405 were free born, 232 were emancipated, and 39 purchased their own freedom or were purchased by their friends.

The first company sailed from New Orleans in the brig *Alida* on the 13th February, 1851, consisting of 139 emigrants; 83 of whom were emancipated by different persons in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, including 36 by William W. Rice, Esq., who liberally provided for their comfort. 52 of the remaining 56 were born free, and 4 purchased their own freedom.

The second expedition sailed from Savannah, Geo., in the barque *Baltimore* on the 10th April, consisting of 126 emigrants; of whom 93 were born free, 20 who were born slaves had purchased their own freedom or

were purchased by their friends, and the remaining 13 were emancipated by different persons in Georgia. Some of these emigrants were men of considerable intelligence and enterprise. One of them, Edward Hall, of Savannah, who had purchased his own freedom and that of his wife and two brothers, carried with him a *steam saw-mill*, in which several of the other emigrants were interested as shareholders. This was the first steam mill ever sent to Liberia. It was located in Sinou county; and from recent advices, we are encouraged to believe that the enterprise will be attended with success, and will prove to be of great advantage to the young Republic.

The brig *Sea Mew*, which sailed from New York on the 13th March, took out 15 emigrants from Williamsburg and Brooklyn, all born free except 2 who purchased their freedom.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore on the 20th July, with 56 emigrants, of whom 42 were born free, 3 purchased their freedom, and 11 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland and Virginia. Several of this company were intelligent and enterprising men from the city of Baltimore.

By the barque *Zeno*, which sailed from New York on the 27th September, 36 emigrants were sent, all of

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whom were born free, except 3 who purchased their freedom.

The sixth expedition sailed from Baltimore in the barque *Morgan Dix*, the 1st November, consisting of 149 emigrants; of whom 97 were free-born, principally from the valley of Virginia, 6 purchased their freedom, and 46 were emancipated, including 33 by the will of the late Miss Margaret Miller of Culpeper County, Virginia. One of this company, John Smith, a good practical engineer from Winchester, and others composing a joint stock company, carried with them a *steam saw-mill*, to be established in Grand Bassa County—the second one sent out during the year.

The seventh expedition was sent in the *Liberia Packet* which sailed from Baltimore on the 31st December, having on board 63 emigrants. The Packet touched at Savannah and received 92 more emigrants, making in all 155; of whom 75 were born free, 1 purchased his freedom, and 79 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, including 50 from the estate of the late John W. Houghton, of Augusta, Georgia.

We have received many evidences that throughout the entire country there is a growing interest in favor of African Colonization; and a stronger conviction that the American Colonization Society occupies a high position among the various benevolent

institutions of this eminently philanthropic age. Its former opponents are beginning to view it in the true light—as an institution founded in wisdom, under the direction of an overruling Providence, and adapted to place the free colored people of the United States in a position in which they can enjoy all the privileges and blessings of freedom—privileges from which they are virtually debarred in every part of this country, and blessings which they can fully enjoy no where else than in Liberia.

It is also evident that the free people of color in this country are becoming more and more conscious of their real position and prospects, and are beginning seriously to ponder the subject of voluntary emigration to a land in which no barriers to political exaltation exist, and no impediments to the free exercise of all the privileges of social equality—a land in which the mind can act without restraint, and in which incentives to a laudable ambition may operate without the trammeling influences of conventional rules, established by the white inhabitants of this land, and clearly recognised in every part of the country. Notwithstanding the show of opposition made by some of them whose minds have become imbued with a prejudice which cannot be easily eradicated; yet in many parts of the country, intelligent men among them are

Influence of the Liberian Government on the Native Tribes.

earnestly engaged in trying to work out the problem of their destiny, with minds open to conviction, and judgments unbiassed by the influence of agencies avowedly opposed to the colonization enterprise. And we doubt not that within a few years there will be a far more extensive movement among the free colored people of the United States in favor of emigration, than has ever yet been witnessed;—a movement which will doubtless be speedily and practically exhibited in the event of the successful issue of the plan for the establishment of a line of steamships to ply regularly between this country and Liberia.

We perceive, with pleasure, that in several of the States, the chief executive officers, in their communications to the Legislatures, have strongly recommended the American Colonization Society, as the only organized agency which has contributed to produce practical results beneficial to the African race; and, consequently, as worthy of approval and encouragement.

From Liberia, our advices, received from time to time, during the past year, are of a very encouraging character, especially in view of the agricultural prosperity of the Republic. Since the establishment of the present form of government, the citizens of Liberia have appeared to be more fully aroused to the consideration of the superlative impor-

tance of agricultural operations; and we have received frequent evidences of the increasing attention given to the cultivation of the soil; on which chiefly depends the prosperity of any country. Their commerce is also steadily increasing. The cause of education is receiving increased attention; and during the past year, most of the churches have been blessed with extensive revivals of religion. Over the surrounding native inhabitants of the country, the influence for good which the citizens of Liberia are exerting, is becoming more and more perceptible. Through the mediation of the Liberian Government, several of the belligerent native tribes have been induced to lay down their weapons of warfare; and thousands of the benighted inhabitants of that land of superstition and degradation have thus been rescued from the agonies of a violent death, or the horrors of the nefarious slave-trade; which latter, in most cases, has given rise to those mercenary and cruel wars that have for centuries devastated that land; and which the Liberians are determined to abolish forever from all the territory over which they may, from time to time, acquire jurisdiction.

The political jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia extends over a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, from the mouth of

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the Shebar river on the north, (which is near the southern boundary of the British colony of Sierra Leone,) to the northern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia," a distance along the sea-coast of about 500 miles, which, added to the territory within the jurisdiction of the Maryland Colony, makes the sea-board extent of the two governments about 600 miles. The present emigrant population of the Republic is about six to seven thousand, and the number of native inhabitants residing within the territory of the Republic, is probably one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand; many of whom, through the example, influence and agency of the citizens and government of Liberia, have

not only been brought within the pale of civilization, but also to a practical realization of the sublime truths and transcendent blessings of our holy Christianity. Thus we believe the civilization and christianizing of the degraded aborigines of Africa are to be chiefly effected, in the order of Divine Providence—by the example, influence and agency of her own returning civilized and Christian children. Thus shall the belligerent hordes of that land of moral desolation be induced to convert their instruments of warfare into implements of husbandry; thus shall the slave trade be effectually and forever suppressed; and thus shall Ethiopia be taught to stretch out her hands unto God.

Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Col. Society.

WASHINGTON, }
January 20, 1852. }

Gentlemen of the American

Colonization Society :

The thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Tuesday evening, the 20th January, 1852.

In the absence of the Hon. Henry Clay, President of the Society, the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

On taking the chair, Mr. Webster made the following remarks in reference to the necessary absence of the President of the Society :

There is not only no member of this Association, but also no citizen of the country, who does not lament, and no one laments more deeply than I do, the cause to which it is to be ascribed that I have been called upon to-night to occupy the Chair of this Association. That eminent, that distinguished, I will say that illustrious fellow-citizen of ours, who was one of the early founders of this institution, who has now for so many years manifested his sense of its importance and his zeal for its success, is, by continued illness, deprived of the opportunity, not only of being here to-night, as the President of the Society,

but also has been, and still is, prevented from exercising his usual salutary influence in the councils of the country.

Gentlemen, it is now many years since this Society was formed and organized and put into successful operation by eminent persons, of whom he was one. His opinion of its usefulness, his zeal for its advancement and prosperity are known to you all; and I am sure that there is no deeper sympathy in the heart or feeling of any person present than in my own, that Providence, in His wisdom, may see fit to restore him to his accustomed ability of patriotic service in the national councils, and of devoted care for this institution.

Let us, gentlemen, implore the Throne of Grace and of Mercy, not only for his restoration to health, but for the usefulness and prosperity of this Association. The Rev. Dr. Butler will be pleased to open the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. C. M. Butler, D. D., then addressed the Throne of Grace.

After which, the Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society, read an abstract of the Annual Report.

The Hon. FREDERIC P. STANTON, of Tennessee, was then introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz :

Resolved, That African Colonization, as pursued by this Society, is of national importance; and that its plans and operations strongly commend themselves, by their success, to the favor and encouragement of the General Government.

This resolution was supported by Mr. STANTON in the following address :

In common with you, Mr. President, and all who heard your feeling and eloquent

allusion to the circumstance which places you in that chair, I lament the melancholy cause of the absence of the regular President of this Society. But whatever may be the design of Providence towards him—whether to remove him from amongst us, or to restore him again to the bosom of society, and to that activity which is peculiar to him in the affairs of our country and at the head of this association, there is one thing at least, which must afford to him the highest satisfaction, as it does to us all—and that is, he has lived to a period when every one can distinctly foresee the brilliant success of those labors for colonization, in which he has had so great a share. He is permitted to look over upon the promised land, and to behold the near fulfillment of all his humane wishes in regard to the free colored people of the United States.

From the report just read by the Secretary, it is plain that the affairs of this society, were never before in so flourishing a condition. The attention of the country has been drawn to its operations; and the public interest in all sections of the land, has been so vividly awakened, that a new and powerful impulse must be given to it, and the movement which originated some thirty-five years ago and which has struggled along slowly during that period, must now assume an increased velocity and momentum towards the accomplishment of its great end.

There are many things which have contributed to produce this feeling of interest on the part of the people of the United States. First, and perhaps the most important, is the great fact—the fundamental fact—which I think is now established beyond doubt, that the plans originated and pursued by this Society are feasible—that the colonization of Africa by the free blacks of this country is a practicable scheme.—The success of the Liberian colony is un-

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questionable. Silently and slowly, under your auspices, has this infant establishment pursued its course, until it now begins to acquire a certain degree of strength and respectable importance. The steady progress of the Colony, the prudence and good sense of its government, have inspired confidence everywhere. Self government on the part of the civilized blacks is no longer altogether an experiment—or if it be still an experiment, it is one which gives promise of great success and invites a still more extensive scale of operations. What are the evidences of this success? Growth, expansion, stability, influence—adding new acquisitions and extending its jurisdiction; suppressing the slave trade; cultivating friendship with the native tribes and settling their disputes, and to some extent absorbing and of course civilizing the native population; fostering agriculture and commerce, and thus gradually developing the resources of a country, which is now proved to be rich in all the elements necessary to sustain a large and prosperous population. I speak of these things generally, for it is unnecessary to mention the particular facts, which are known to every intelligent gentleman in this association.

Now this improvement has been accomplished under great disadvantages and in spite of great difficulties. Compare the growth of this colony at its present age, with the growth of any other known in history, and the comparison will be found to be highly favorable to the colony of Liberia. It is very true this colonization has taken place in the nineteenth century with the advantage of all the great improvements of the day. It is true this colony has had the favor of this government, and to a certain extent, the favor of most of the great civilized governments of the earth. But when you take into consideration the physical conformation of the African Con-

continent—that which has undoubtedly been powerfully influential in preventing its civilization up to the present time—you cannot fail to see the great obstacles which this cause alone has presented to the plan of colonization. Look at Europe, with the deep indentations of its coast, its splendid estuaries and harbors, affording every facility for commerce and intercourse with the various parts of the same continent as well as of all the other great divisions of the globe. Witness a similar physical conformation of the great continent of America. You are all perfectly familiar with the vast influence of these great physical features, not only upon the climate of these continents, but also upon the character, pursuits and progress of the people who inhabit them. You do not require to be told that if Africa had been found with the same advantages—if it had been indented with great inlets, commodious bays and harbors, entered by great navigable rivers, its destiny and that of the vast population which inhabit it, would have been far different from what they now are. Hence the great difficulties, also, in the way of successful colonization—difficulties which did not attend the efforts of those Europeans who first settled this continent.

These disadvantages may be considered as more than a complete offset to the benefits enjoyed by the colony of Liberia in the protection of the American people and of this Society. Then the great fact stands forth, that in spite of all these difficulties, a growing, prosperous, and successful colony of free blacks has been planted on the coast of Africa—a colony which may be advantageously compared with any similar example of emigration made known to us in history. It is the importance of these facts, now known and appreciated by the whole country, which creates the interest, manifested in all

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parts of the United States for the success and increase of the Colony of Liberia.

There are, however, other causes in operation which have contributed to this result. And among these is that great excitement under which the country has labored for some years past—the great sectional difficulty between the North and the South, on the subject of slavery. No such great and general agitation ever takes place among any people, without accomplishing something for the cause of human progress. And I think as the results of this vast commotion in the public mind, some three or four conclusions have arisen and fixed themselves as settled convictions of the American people. The first of these is, that the people of the Northern States are not benefited, but on the contrary, are positively injured by the presence of the free blacks. The second is that the same is the case with regard to the white population of the Southern States. Third, that the slave himself is injured by the presence of the free black man; and finally, that the free blacks themselves can never enjoy liberty and equality, and consequently can never attain to the full exercise of their faculties, or rather the full development of their capacity for freedom, while they remain in this country.

As to the first of these propositions, that the people of the Northern States feel the presence of the free blacks, in any considerable numbers, to be a disadvantage to them, I need only refer to the legislation of some of the north-western States, actually excluding them from their limits. And I think I may refer to the tone of public sentiment all over the North as evinced by the public press. I might also refer to the messages of Governors of Northern States, to the proceedings of their legislative bodies, as evidence of the fact that this conviction has fixed itself upon the minds

of a very considerable majority of the Northern people. I know there is a different feeling among some, and that not perhaps an inconsiderable portion of the Northern people; but I speak of the general sentiments—the general convictions of the people of that part of the Union.

Now, sir, as to the second and third propositions, that the free blacks are felt in the Southern States to be a population that does not contribute to the welfare of either the white man or the slave. Here again I refer to the uniform legislation of all the Southern States—a legislation, not of recent origin, but going back almost to the foundation of the States themselves. The tenor of that legislation is to prohibit the emancipation of slaves except upon condition of their removal beyond the limits of the respective States. And it is usual, I believe universal, to prohibit the ingress of free negroes from the other States under the severest penalties. The foundation of this legislation, as everybody knows, is the conviction and the experience, that the presence of the black man in a state of freedom is injurious to society. I might refer you to the fact that even in South Carolina, within a few years past, the Governor of that State made the removal of the free negroes beyond its limits the subject of a direct recommendation in his message to the Legislature.

Now I say, with the utmost confidence, that this injury is not felt only as resulting to the interests of the white man, who is the master, but also to the black man, who is the slave. I shall presently endeavor to show that the free negro in this country is almost always a degraded being. He communicates this degradation to the slave, and generally exerts his influence in misleading and corrupting him. It is not that he incites the slave to rebel or to escape, so much as he induces him to pilfer and

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steal, rewarding him with intoxicating drink. The result is vice and misery on the part of the slave, and increased severity on the part of his owner. So I assure you, sir, that it is beyond all doubt a fixed conviction on the part of the Southern people, that both the whites and the slaves would be benefitted by the removal of the free blacks.

As to the influence of the situation of the free blacks upon their own happiness, prosperity and progress, I need only refer you to the results exhibited by the census of 1840—results which will no doubt be sustained by the census of last year, when its details shall be made known. You all remember the celebrated letter of Mr. Calhoun, as to the comparative condition of the slaves and free negroes in this country. I know it was said in some quarters that the exhibit made in that letter was founded upon an error in the statistics upon which Mr. Calhoun based his conclusions. However that may be, every one must acknowledge, that, in the main, those conclusions are true. They may have been exaggerated by the supposed error of Mr. Calhoun, but still the fact remains undisputed, that in vice, crime, and degradation, the condition of the free negro in the non-slaveholding States is immeasurably below that of any other part of the population.

But if this be the result of experience, exhibited by statistical facts which cannot be successfully questioned, it is equally the conclusion to which every mode of correct reasoning will inevitably bring us. In the very nature of things—from the constitution of society and the natural instincts of man, the general condition of the free black in any portion of this country, must be one of inevitable degradation. Individual instances to the contrary do not shake this conclusion. The general result follows necessarily from the

existing condition of things—the actual relation of the two races on this continent.

A moral demonstration—reasoning from cause to effect—is not always satisfactory. In a mathematical demonstration, the facts are brought to the test of the senses—to the sight or the feeling. You take two triangles, with equal sides and angles, and impose one upon the other—they coincide in all parts—they are equal. I believe every mathematical problem can be brought down to this test, which appeals to the sight or feeling. But to the minds of educated men, a moral demonstration is, or at least ought to be, equally as convincing. Now take for the elements of our investigation a few obstinate facts which nobody can dispute. Take, in the first place, the unconquerable repugnance, the instinctive repulsion, between the white and black races—that prejudice, if you choose to call it so, which renders utterly impossible a social intercourse between the races upon a footing of equality. Take again the equally unquestionable superiority of the white race in intellect, in activity, and in physical force, or at least in those devices which supply the want of physical force or increase its efficiency. Then take, in addition, the overwhelming numbers of the whites. And now what do you make of the premises? You cannot dispute them. The wildest abolitionist, who professes to place the negro upon an equality with himself, cannot so far rebel against nature and conquer the natural repulsion of the races, as to intermarry with the objects of his philanthropy. The few exceptions to this assertion are anomalies and monstrosities, looked upon with utter loathing and disgust, by the great mass of the whites. In his actual condition, the negro is inferior to the white man. I do not pretend to decide the question of the origin of races, or to determine whether this inferiority results from circumstances

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and conditions long operating to produce it, or whether it comes from a difference of mental and physical organization. I deal only with the facts as we find them to exist. The negroes of this country, free as well as slave, are not the equals of the white race, whatever may be the cause of the difference.

Then we have an inferior race, greatly in the minority, living among those who are vastly their superiors in activity, intellect, and enterprize, and who have an unconquerable aversion to social intercourse with them. What must be the inevitable result? Aye, with all your benevolence, with all your efforts to elevate and sustain this inferior population, what must be the end? They must go down. They cannot meet the competition, under such circumstances, of a superior race with greatly superior numbers. They must sink in the scale of prosperity, and consequently of intellect and of morals.

What is the principle which will control two races placed in contact under the circumstances I have described? It is the principle of antagonism. Such is the law of nature—such is the lesson we derive from history in all ages. I do not mean to say that this antagonism *ought* to exist. I do not mean even to assert that it *would* exist, if the principle of Christian charity were carried to its full extent; though under all circumstances the natural repulsion of the races would continue to operate. But I speak of human nature as it is, with all its cupidity, criminality, and its disposition to impose upon the weak and inferior. The free negro cannot stand up against this antagonism, in the existing condition of mankind, even if we consider only the operation of those impulses and desires which are usually considered irreproachable. Already they are fast being driven from profitable employment in all

parts of the country by the competition of the whites. They are going down in the scale of prosperity, and they must necessarily sink in the scale of civilization by the continued operation of the same cause.

The only remedy for this antagonism, which must exist as long as the races remain together, is, in my humble judgment, *slavery*. Like the alkali which causes the oil and water to combine, slavery neutralizes the antagonism of the whites and blacks for the mutual interest of both. I do not mean to say that “slavery in the abstract” is right. I am not one of those who believe that slavery is either destined to be, or ought to be, perpetual. But I speak of the necessary and inevitable relations between the two races in a condition such as that which exists in the United States. The free black man in this country, deprived of social equality and generally of political rights, is virtually a slave. I believe he assumes a level in society even lower than that of the slave.

Such will not be the case with any white race of men who may be brought into contact with us on this continent; because one element of the condition of the blacks does not exist—that is the instinctive repulsion between the races. You may bring an inferior European people into the United States, and in the course of one or two generations they melt away and mingle with our population—perhaps strengthen and improve it. But this the black race never can do. Their inevitable doom, among us, is to assume a lower caste and to go down in the scale of civilization.—But it does by no means follow that placed upon a different continent under different circumstances, precisely the opposite may not be the result. I believe that precisely the opposite would be the result. The black man is peculiarly docile; he is capable of improvement; he is susceptible of

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a high degree of civilization; he has an intellect which some persons believe to be as good naturally as that of the white man. Place him in favorable circumstances on the shore of Africa, free from the injurious contact of the white man—his great superior in strength, ingenuity, and intellect, and therefore oppressing him by the very weight of this superiority—the tendency of the black man is to improve. His inevitable destiny, under such circumstances, is to rise in the scale of humanity by the exertion of independent power and self-control. The seeds of civilization have been planted in his bosom here, they will germinate and expand there in a soil and climate, fitted by the Creator to his physical and moral nature.

It is a question of doubt in the minds of many, whether the black man placed in the most favorable circumstances in the Colony of Liberia, will be able to maintain free institutions. We are pointed to the condition of France at the present time, and we are told that one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, having its destinies in its own hands, has been unable to maintain a free government. It is therefore asserted that the black man, inferior in civilization and in intellect, at least at the present time, must be incapable of it. But it must be remembered that these European nations, enlightened as they may be, have their monarchical traditions of thousands of years, their despotic customs, and as we have been recently told by a very distinguished individual, that centralization which inevitably produces despotism. Nobody could have failed to perceive, during the existence of the French Republic since 1848, that the people there seemed to have no idea, certainly no idea like ours, of the true nature of a written constitution. Their constitution was always construed, or seemed to me to be con-

strued, in conformity with their former monarchical maxims and laws. In truth their institutions had not been changed in conformity with their change of constitution.

When the crab throws off his shell, his internal constitution and vital organization still remain the same, and they necessarily reproduce the shell again. So when the Government of France changed its head, or threw off its shell—the crust of despotism—its general institutions and internal organization remaining the same, it could produce nothing by the very nature of things, but despotism again. There must be an entire change in the internal organization of the body itself, in order that the caterpillar may come out a butterfly. It does not follow because the people of Liberia are in a lower state of improvement, that they are incapable of free institutions. I apprehend that free institutions are as natural and as easy to be maintained and carried on, as despotic governments. The Government of Liberia will start with that internal organization and those institutions which necessarily tend to produce freedom by their very operation. If this be the case, we may justly expect from the nature of the thing as well as from existing facts and the past history of this Colony, that they will be able to maintain their institutions, and that their destiny is to go forward progressively and not to go backwards.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have attempted to show and I believe every one must acknowledge, that the removal of the free blacks from this country to Africa, where they can enjoy liberal institutions and where they can be in a situation to improve in civilization, prosperity and happiness, is to the advantage of the white man and of the black man—of the free man and of the slave—of the Northern man and

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of the Southern man. It is the interest of all parties that they should be removed—black and white, East and West, North and South. It is the general—the universal—the *national interest*. I think this great fact is becoming known to the people. They are beginning to appreciate the policy which has been so perseveringly, through so many difficulties and discouragements, pursued by this Society for more than a quarter of a century. Results are becoming manifest. The negro, free in Africa, carrying civilization and Christianity with him, rises in the scale of being; while, in this country, his freedom does not relieve him from degradation, but dooms him and his posterity to inevitable decline. Humanity, self-interest, patriotism, all combine to urge the supreme necessity of colonization for the benefit of both races.

If these facts be true—if all interests, particular and general, individual and collective, local and national, require the prosecution of this great scheme, can you tell me, Mr. President, why the General Government must have no concern with it? why it may not look to this as a wise and legitimate collateral object, in the performance of its great constitutional duties?

Mr. President, in your speech in the Senate in March, 1850, of which I will say nothing, but which the whole country concurs in saying did you so much honor, and for which I had the pleasure of bearing to you the congratulations of some of my constituents of a political party opposite to your own, you, so far as I know or am informed, first broached the idea that the government might appropriate money for the purpose of colonizing the free blacks of the United States. I do not know that it would be practicable in the present state of public opinion, or at least, in the present state of that opinion which

controls the councils of the nation, to carry out your idea, which I believe to be a just idea. But there is a mode which, it seems to me, obviates all difficulty, and removes all objections, either on the score of policy or of constitutionality.

It is expected, for I am so informed, that I should say something about the scheme which has been so much agitated, generally known by the nickname of “the Ebony line of steamers.” This is the proposition, Sir, though not original with me, which I had the honor to bring forward in the House of Representatives, and which I believe will accomplish the great object suggested by you in the speech to which I have referred. This proposition had the unqualified approbation of the President of the Society, (alluding to Mr. CLAY.) I do not know, Sir, what your views may be, (addressing Mr. WEBSTER.) But I think the scheme avoids all difficulties of a constitutional character, and renders it possible for the government of the United States to aid essentially in the cause of this Society, without offending the prejudices of any portion of the people.

From the earliest period of our history under the present constitution, it has been the custom, as every body knows, in making our postal arrangements, to provide for the carriage of the mails in post coaches wherever the routes have been of much importance. And although no one probably would contend that the government of the United States has the right to establish and maintain stage coaches for the purpose of carrying passengers alone, yet it is well understood that this usual requirement in the post office contracts, altogether unnecessary for the mere transportation of the mails, was made for the public accommodation, and for the express purpose of facilitating the carrying of passengers from one point to another. In the performance of its conceded constitutional

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functions, the government has not felt itself bound, nor have the people heretofore expected it, to hold itself aloof from the public interest, whenever that could be incidentally promoted. Accordingly, similar arrangements have been made for some years past with reference to the foreign mails; and lines of steam vessels have been established, connected with the navy, and forming, as I believe, a very important and indispensable branch of the naval service, having precisely the same effect, and with precisely a similar object—the extension of the intercourse and commerce of the country with the different quarters of the world. Until this African steam line was proposed, having, in my humble judgment, more important collateral objects than any other, I believe I never heard of a constitutional objection to the contracts which have been entered into for carrying the mail between this and other countries. The proposition to establish this line, important as would be its bearing upon all the great interests to which I have alluded as being involved in the removal of the free blacks—interests, not less momentous to our own country, than to those of that little commonwealth on the other shore of the Atlantic, which is the worthy offspring of this Society—it is not, in any particular, different in principle from any of those lines which have heretofore been established without objection.

In another point of view, I think this policy of very high importance. I believe, and it is generally acknowledged, that the invention of the steam engine will produce a thorough and complete revolution in the art of naval warfare. It is well known that in anticipation of this revolution, which must be exhibited in the next naval conflict which shall occur, all the great maritime powers of the world have made such preparation as to have at their com-

mand an immense force of steamers for any sudden contingencies. England has numerous lines of steamers, established upon the same principle to which I have already referred, comprising more than a hundred powerful vessels, ready at any moment to receive their armaments, and to scour the ocean. In the "*Washington Union*" of this morning, I find the following extract from the "*London Times*:"

"STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH THE COLONIES.—The government has advertised for tenders for conveying mails by screw steamers between the Cape of Good Hope and Calcutta, via the Mauritius and Ceylon. This will establish a steam-packet communication between the Mauritius and this country, both by the Cape and overland routes. It will also connect the Cape with the overland route. When the contracts for conveying mails at present advertised for are all taken, there will be a steam-packet communication with every important English colony and possession in the world, except New Zealand and Vancouver's island. The total cost to the country of the mail packet service may be set down at £50,000*l.* per annum, and next year this sum will be increased to 1,000,000*l.*"

But in addition to this information, which shows very plainly the drift and direction of English naval policy, I was recently informed by an intelligent gentleman of another equally important fact. I do not know how authentic it may be, but the gentleman who informed me received it from such a source that he gave it implicit confidence. He stated that there is not a steamer built in England, by private owners or companies, either for the coasting or foreign trade, for which the government of Great Britain does not provide an armament, marked and numbered, and deposited in her arsenals, to be placed upon

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that vessel in the contingency of war. And it was stated as a consequence, that if war should break out to-morrow, between England and any other country, she could put upon the ocean no less than a thousand steamers, bearing these armaments.

I shall not attempt to decide, for I feel myself entirely incompetent to decide, that great question which is of so much interest, and about which there is so much diversity of opinion among naval men themselves, whether, in a future war, steam-power will be used merely as an auxiliary, or whether it will be the primary force relied upon. Certain it is, that these swarms of steamers, by the celerity and certainty of their movements, would not only sweep the ocean, but they could take cities and towns, by landing large forces at any given point. They could concentrate at a designated spot in any portion of the world within a given time, and would thus introduce into naval warfare that system of combination which has characterized the operations of military power since the days of Napoleon. They could outrun and evade sailing vessels, leave them behind, and carry on commerce in spite of them. So that it may be a question worthy of consideration whether steam is not destined to be the most efficient—indeed, the indispensable agent in any future war, instead of being, as many suppose, the mere auxiliary power in aid of the old organization. But whichever may be the truth, it cannot be doubted, if the facts I have mentioned be well founded, that England is acting wisely and with proper foresight, in preparing to make use of this powerful agent upon so extensive a scale, for her own defence, or for aggression upon others. We are far behind her. So far as actually existing arrangements—I mean our state of actual preparation—are concerned, we are behind all the great mari-

time powers of the world—Russia and France as well as England. But I do not mean to say that we are behind either of those powers in our naval resources—in our capacity, eventually, to put a fleet upon the ocean.

I think it follows from these considerations, that in entering upon this system by which the building of steam vessels is encouraged, and by which they are kept constantly running to all quarters of the world, we not only extend our commerce and repay for the expenditure by the general benefits received from this source, but we do also, at the same time, make the best possible preparation, and indeed the only valuable preparation, for the contingency of a war.

Mr. President and gentlemen, there is another consideration which for some time has been weighing upon my mind, and which I have expressed to some extent upon other occasions. But I am almost afraid to declare what I feel, because I know I shall be flying in the face of old ideas, and prejudices which have long existed. But I will venture to ask you to think of this single fact: if we should have another twenty-five years of peace, and if the expenses of our navy during that period should not be reduced, as they probably cannot be and ought not to be, considering the vast extension of our country and its prospective increase of population, the expenditures for the naval service will amount to at least **TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.** (Turning to Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster,) You who have the control and management of this government and its destinies to some extent in your hands, and also the destinies of humanity, so far as the influence of this great Government goes, what are you accomplishing by the aid of this vast expenditure? Or, perhaps, I ought rather to ask what might you not accomplish in the next twenty-five years by the judicious use of

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these two hundred millions of dollars? I know very well that the time has not yet come when we can dispense with our naval armaments, or with our military forces on shore. But I do believe the time has come when the enlightened condition of the world requires that these vast expenditures in making preparation for war, should be made useful in maintaining the arts of peace, and that prosperity which is the result of peace—in extending and promoting that invaluable commerce, and that friendly christian intercourse of nations, which the navy is designed to protect.

I have said upon another occasion, that when you take one of those magnificent steamers, which plough the ocean almost without any indication of the power which produces the result, and place upon her an armament erected for her own defence and for the defence of that commerce which she is calculated so much to extend, you have half accomplished that great prophecy, which perhaps a few generations are to see fully accomplished, when the sword shall be turned into the ploughshare.

The closer you bring nations together, the more intimate you make their intercourse—especially the intercourse of the people with each other—the more distant do you make the possibility of war. And while it is claimed that the increased destructiveness of the instruments of war, has had a tendency to diminish the disposition of nations to engage in it, the invention of the powerful agency of steam has had a still more humane and noble influence—that is, to unite all nations in an intimate brotherly intercourse, which is fast leading them to the conclusion that wars are no longer necessary, except to minister to the ambition of princes and rulers.

Sir, I hold it to be a proposition which no man can dispute or gainsay, that if our country can be as well defended in the way proposed, by which the public expenditure

will at the same time be made to accomplish happy results for the welfare of the country—if it can be thus as well defended as it can be by the old system of floating batteries—the old frigates and ships of the line which frequently lie two or two and a half years out of three in some distant port—if you can substitute active and efficient steamers for these old vessels, with security to the country, and at the same time with advantage to the commerce of the country, it is our solemn duty to do so. Such will be the judgment of the country—such will be the judgment of the civilized world.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I can add any thing more to the views which I have sketched. I have not entered into them with any very great detail, because I know that to this intelligent audience, it is necessary only to give the great outlines of my position. They will themselves supply the minute features of the picture. I might properly allude to the fact, that the Government of the United States in former times, has felt itself at liberty to enter into treaties which impose upon it the obligation to keep a large squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. I believe now, the conviction is very general, not only in this country but in England, that the combined navies of the two countries have done little towards the actual suppression of the trade in African men. Sir, I heard your predecessor in that chair, (Mr. Clay,) the venerable President of this Society, twelve months ago, demonstrate in his own most eloquent mode, that the Colonization of the Coasts of Africa was the only efficient means of accomplishing that great result. One of the greatest merits of the Colony of Liberia—one of its highest claims to your consideration and encouragement—is the fact that it has done much; that it promises to do

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still more, to suppress this infamous traffic. Now I think it would be a very wise change—a very beneficial and humane change—one that would not to any extent, endanger the true interests of the country, to make use of the expenditure which is now applied for sustaining this squadron on the Coast of Africa, to establish a line of communication, by which the emigrant from this country will be afforded a cheap, quick, and comfortable passage, to the home of his fathers. In a few years what might be expected as the result of the establishment of such a line? Africa will become a place of promise to the black man, as this country has become a place of promise to the white man of the European continent. It is not supposed that the Government of the United States, by any facilities which it might thus incidentally offer, could remove the whole race of free blacks in this country. But by this movement, so much strength and prosperity might be infused into the new colony, that the free black man would be attracted, and would of his own accord, seek a home in Africa. This is the great result at which this Society is aiming. When this shall be accomplished, its mission will have been completed. The free negroes of this country will hasten to the shores of Africa, they will build up a prosperous Government; they will carry civilization and Christianity into the interior of that vast continent, and they will develop its resources to an extent which will astonish and delight mankind.

I believe the black man, in former times, under bad advice and baleful influences, has shown himself averse to leaving this country and taking up his abode in Africa. Recent indications, however, go to show that he is beginning to change, and to learn that he can never enjoy true freedom, or make real progress in this country

—that the desire to remove to Africa is extending itself among the blacks themselves. Nothing remains, but that the Government of the United States shall give its favor and encouragement to this proceeding. This it can do, without stepping out of the usual mode of accomplishing similar results—without doing any thing which it has not done often before, without objection—and without contravening any constitutional principle, or any cherished principle of policy.

Mr. President, I forbear to speak of the capacities of that country for agricultural and commercial development. There is a vast field of investigation which I leave for others to explore. I will not even speak of the commercial advantages which in the course of time might accrue from the particular measure, which I have now especially advocated. I leave all these to other gentlemen, or for other occasions. I am aware that other gentlemen are expected to address you, and I will no longer keep you from the enjoyment of those better things which, I have no doubt, are in store for you.

The Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, of Virginia, was next introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization affords a basis broad enough for Christians of all creeds and politicians of all parties to stand upon; and that its principles and conduct are in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of the States, and our obligations to the Union and to God.

In support of this resolution, Mr. Slaughter spoke as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: In the year 1607 three English ships were driven by stress of weather into the Capes of Virginia, and,

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having ascended the James river, effected the first settlement of the white race upon the continent of America. About twelve years afterwards, in the year 1620, a Dutch man-of-war ascended the same river and landed at the same place twenty African slaves. And now, for the first time, the white man, the black man and the red man stood face to face and gazed upon each other in the New World.

From that moment, these three races started upon a new career—a career which is even now in the process of development before our eyes—a career which was destined, in my humble judgment, to fulfill upon a large scale that remarkable prophecy uttered thousands of years before by the patriarch Noah, when, in the name of God, he proclaimed, “God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.”

The contemplation of the career upon which those three races started at that eventful moment may teach us some exceedingly instructive and interesting lessons. There was the white man, the type of Christian civilization. He began immediately to increase and multiply in the most rapid and wonderful manner. In a very few years, or in a comparatively short time, he penetrated every river that opened its mouth into the Atlantic ocean—he ascended every hill—he passed every mountain—poured along the valleys and spread over the entire continent of America. But not merely has he subdued the wilderness and made those vast solitudes which hitherto were unbroken, save by the war-whoop of the Indian and the scream of the eagle, vocal with the hum of industry and with the songs of Christian praise; but, in the same space of time, he has accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of the world. He

has reared the fabrics of government which have no model upon the face of the Globe—governments which are now attracting the observation of the entire world. The kings of the continent of Europe at this very moment are looking with awe and disquietude upon “this new Rome rising in the West,” the foreshadows of whose greatness yet to be are extending darkly and heavily over their dominions and obscuring the lustre of their thrones.

Where are the other parties to this interesting meeting? The red man has retired before the rising tide of white population, receding from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghany—from the Alleghany to the Mississippi, and disappearing from each in quick succession, like snow before the sun. He may linger for a few years in our Western horizon, but is destined ere long to make his “ocean grave with the setting sun.” His history is an instructive instance of the effect of leaving an inferior in immediate contact with a superior race, and in the enjoyment of its own wild liberty.

To return to the African. Had he been left, like the Indian, in his native freedom, his would have been the fate of the Indian. But in the mysterious providence of God, the African was “bound to the car of the Anglo-American,” who has borne him along with him in his upward career, protecting his weakness, and providing for him physical comforts which were never enjoyed by the Indian, nor indeed by the lower classes in any country under the sun.

Accordingly he has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, until he is numbered by millions instead of scores, and if the accession by immigration had not been arrested, the black

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might have surpassed the white population.

In the meantime the black man has been trained in the habits, manners and arts of civilized life—been made acquainted with the Christian religion and been gradually rising in the intellectual and moral order until he is far above his race in their native seats. In these facts, Sir, we see some traces of the designs of an all-wise Providence in permitting the black man to be brought here and placed in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization. As we proceed, we shall discover new and more beautiful instances of design, as the history of the race is evolved under the Providence of God.

No sooner had we taken our place as an independent power among the nations of the earth, than a new phenomenon presented itself to our view—to wit.—The class of *free* colored people. The thirteen colonies which adopted the Declaration of Independence, were slave-holders. When these colonies became States, they reserved their sovereign power over the question of slavery. In the exercise of their sovereignty, seven of the original thirteen, in process of time, emancipated their slaves. Many individuals in the Southern States, emancipated a still larger number. This new phenomenon soon began to attract the public attention. The agitation of the subject began in the Legislature of Virginia in 1776, but nothing definite was done. In after years the subject was repeatedly discussed in the Legislature and was a matter of grave consideration and of correspondence and consultation among the leading statesmen of the commonwealth, who at last concluded that it would be a wise measure of policy as well as an act of humanity to remove this anomalous class of people from the State. Measures were

accordingly taken to effect this object in co-operation with the general government.

For many years previous to this era, Christian men had been anxiously pondering the problem of the conversion of Africa to Christianity. When adventurous travellers and missionaries, who had penetrated the interior of that continent, returned and disclosed the condition of that unhappy people—generation after generation of whom, had for centuries been going down to their graves unblessed by the light of Christianity, and living millions still groaning under the yoke of the most debasing bondage and the most cruel superstition to which humanity ever bent the knee or bowed the mind, the mighty heart of Christendom beat with the liveliest sympathy, and a cry of horror went up from all her borders.—Shamed by past apathy, and burning with present zeal, different branches of the Church, projected mission after mission and sent them forth at an immense expense of life and treasure to convey the glad tidings of salvation to these perishing millions. The experiment was tried for more than 200 years, and the result was an absolute failure; and the bones of a noble army of martyrs, bleached the burning sands of that blighted land. When the heart of Christendom had again sunk down into apathy and black despair seemed to rest on the prospect in that direction, then it was that the happy thought occurred to many christian minds who had been long pondering the problem presented by the presence of the free colored people in this country, and also the unhappy condition of Africa, of taking these very persons whose presence was not desired here, and whose removal was eminently desirable on many accounts, and sending them back to the land of their fathers bearing along with them the Ark of God, and all the institutions of Christian civilization.

Here is one of those remarkable instan-

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ces in which Divine Providence acts far out of the sight of men. In allowing these persons to be kept here for 200 years in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization, daily rising in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement, having become acquainted with the principles, and in many instances imbued with the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ—God, as it has been beautifully and eloquently said, had been long elaborating in the depths of his own unfathomable counsel, just as he elaborates the diamond in the mine, that gem of Christian civilization which now blazes on the sable brow of Africa.

Politicians looking at this question from a political point of view, and actuated by political considerations merely, were also pondering this very problem, and contemporary with the conclusion to which christians came, they had come to identically the same conclusion. Accordingly, as we all know, politicians of all parties, and Christians of all creeds, assembled here in the city of Washington in 1816, and laid the foundation of the very Society whose 35th anniversary we are now celebrating, burying under its corner-stone all party feeling in politics—all sectarian jealousies in religion. What but the superintending providence of God could have produced this conjuncture of circumstances and union of minds.

Men of the highest sanctity of character and splendor of talent—burning and shining lights in the church and in the State, were present and participated in the proceedings which are familiar to us all.—The result of their deliberations was that in 1820, (just 200 years after the landing of the blacks in Jamestown,) the "Elizabeth" sailed for the coast of Africa with 83 emigrants and a few white men who had volunteered to be pioneers in

this perilous enterprize. I will not detain you by reciting the affecting story of their adventures, which in many incidents are strangely like those of the first settlers of our own country.

Only 30 years have elapsed and what has been the result. I will not enter into the details. You have heard many of them already in the annual report. But what has been the general result? There it stands in the sight of all men, a Christian Republic in the very central region of African barbarism and the slave trade, a republic of free blacks constructed after the model of our own, with all the machinery of a free republican government, presided over and administered in all its departments by free colored men from the United States of America. There are between 20 and 30 Christian Churches in full and successful operation. There are Sunday schools and day schools. There are printing presses and newspapers.—There is all the apparatus of Christian civilization in full and distinct and visible operation, exerting a powerful influence upon hundreds and thousands of the natives who are daily coming within the range of its influence. We are told that even Kings are coming already to the brightness of the rising of this Lone Star, and bringing their children to be educated in the principles of free government, and still more in the principles and glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ our Saviour. We have thus pushed the base of our missionary operations in Africa across the Atlantic, 4000 miles in advance of our former centre of operations. And it is a fact worthy of being noted that white missionaries are now able to maintain their ground by means of the comfort and protection afforded by the presence of the Colonies.

Mr. President, I desire to consider in a few words in the conclusion of this rapid and desultory view of the question,

what is our duty as patriotic men? What is our duty as humane men? What is our duty as Christian men in relation to this great measure of State policy and of Christian beneficence. First, then, this is a question of humanity. There is a large class, now amounting to between 300 and 500,000 of our fellow-creatures occupying a state of intellectual, of moral, of social, and of political degradation far below that of the white population and in many cases even of our slaves. There are some visionaries who profess to entertain the expectation and the hope that these persons will some day or other be brought to stand upon the same platform of political and social equality with the white race. Sir, no dream in the Arabian Tales was ever more vain, mischievous, and visionary.—It is utterly impossible. Almighty God has placed between us and them by a visible mark, an impassable gulf. No human power or wisdom can ever bridge that gulf so that they can come over and stand on the same platform of political and social equality with us. No, sir, they stand and frown upon each other—

“Like cliffs that have been rent asunder,
A dreary sea now rolls between;
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
Shall ever do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been.”
[Applause.]

It does not become me, perhaps, to speak of this question in a political aspect; but I will say one word upon that point. We are all patriotic men. All American citizens are patriotic men. All admire and love the institutions of their country, and desire to perpetuate them to the latest posterity. Need I suggest what is the cause which has come more nearly than any other cause, to overwhelm this proud fabric of free government, to which the thousands and tens of thousands of refugees from the old and worn-out governments of Europe,

are flocking every day, as doves to their windows! It is this very question of the black race. Do we not know that questions connected with this very class have agitated this country—have shaken the great fabric of government from its base to its topmost turret, have made it heave to and fro as if with a mighty moral earthquake, and have threatened utterly to overwhelm it in one entire and tremendous ruin. Is it not clear that if this Society proceeds to do as it has already done, it will abstract, to a certain extent, some of the causes of this political agitation, in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of property, the rights of the States, and all our obligations to the Union and to God? If it tends to abstract one of those causes of political agitation and disturbance, does it not tend in the same ratio to establish and perpetuate our free and glorious institutions? Is there an American citizen who will not do all that in him lies, in the providence of God, to hand down to his posterity this noble structure, under whose shadow such multitudes of the miserable and oppressed from every nation of the earth are now taking shelter? Sir, it is encouraging us, to see among the bright names upon the roll of our Society, those of the men who laid the foundation of our government, and cemented it with their blood, as well as of those who have built up its walls, and who now stand as the firmest pillars and the most graceful ornaments of that wondrous structure, whose crowning dome is the constitution of the United States.

Again, not to dwell on this branch of the subject, we are Christians, and this subject has a missionary aspect. There are thousands and tens of thousands of Christians in this country, who believe that we have now clear and distinct, and most encouraging evidence, that this is one of the

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special modes by which God's providence is going to solve that so long vexed and perplexing problem of the establishment of Christianity in Africa. So long as the white man was employed as the instrument for conveying the gospel to Africa, all his efforts were attended with absolute failure. Utter failure was written upon them all. It would seem as if Almighty God, by these dispensations of his providence, had absolutely interdicted that land to the white man; and that he had been preparing these persons, who can live in that clime, so fatal to the white man, to be instruments of the entire and permanent establishment of all the institutions of Christianity and free government in that benighted land. Oh! what an animating view is not this to the Christian; and what a powerful stimulus should it not give to our support of this great scheme of African colonization. There are many of us who do not doubt for one single moment, however vain and chimerical, or visionary, other persons may deem it, that this instrumentality will have precisely that full and glorious development and issue.

Sir, there stands upon the coast of Africa a civilized community, whose influence is felt throughout all the region round about. Why should not that instrumentality be used by Divine Providence for the purpose of the entire regeneration of the whole continent of Africa? Is that too much for the eye of faith to anticipate? Why, let us reflect a moment upon the history of our own country. It has been well asked, where was the Christian, or the politician, sufficiently sagacious to see in that little tobacco plantation at Jamestown, two hundred years ago, or in that little company which was wafted across the wintry ocean in the *May Flower* and landed upon the

barren rock of Plymouth, the germs of this colossal America of ours, which now stands with her feet in the tropics, her head reposing upon the snows of Canada, stretching her right hand to the Pacific and her left hand to the Atlantic in token of welcome and shelter to the refugee and oppressed of all lands. (Great applause.) Why may we not anticipate that God will thus bless that Lone Star which now shines with fitful and tremulous light in the very central regions of African barbarism and the slave trade, and that, by his blessing upon it, upon our prayers, upon our example, and upon the efforts of individuals, of States, and of the United States, that Lone Star may become a mighty constellation like our own, shining like light-houses around the coast of Africa, their light transmitted through all the dark valleys of the shadow of death, until the very Mountains of the Moon reflecting the Sun of Righteousness, shall light up the midnight of African barbarism.

The Reverend Gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER next addressed the Society, as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY:—It is now many years since I took part in the original organization of this society. It was formed under the lead of Southern gentlemen. Its first President, if I remember aright, was that most estimable, virtuous, and distinguished magistrate, Judge Bushrod Washington. In the list of its Vice Presidents at that time, if I remember aright, was the gentleman to whom allusion has already been made—the present President of this Society. Circumstances have not called upon, nor even permitted me, in the course of the many years that have rolled over our heads from that day to this, to take any particular active part in furthering the ob-

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jects or promoting the success of this Society. I have, nevertheless, never for a moment entertained a doubt that its object was useful, that to a certain degree it was practicable and that in the end it might show itself to be of the highest importance in producing beneficial effects upon the state of society among us arising from the mixed races that inhabit the United States.

Gentlemen, there is a Power above us which sees the end of all things from the beginning, though we see it not. Almighty God is his own interpreter of the ways of his own providence; and I sometimes contemplate with amazement, and I may say with adoration, events which have taken place through the instrumentality of the cupidity and criminality of men, designed nevertheless to work out great ends of beneficence and goodness, by our Creator. (Applause.)

As has been said by the eloquent and reverend gentleman who has addressed us, African slaves were brought hither, to the shores of this continent, almost simultaneously with the first tread of a white man's foot upon this, our North America. We see in that, our short-sightedness only sees, the effect of a desire of the white man to appropriate to himself the results of the labor of the black man as an inferior and a slave. Now let us look at it.

These negroes, and all who have succeeded them, brought hither as captives taken in the wars of their own petty provinces, ignorant and barbarous, without the knowledge of God, and with no reasonable knowledge of their own character and condition, have come here, and here, although in a subordinate, in an inferior, in an enslaved condition, have learned more and become to know more of themselves and of their Creator, than all whom they have left behind them in their own barbarous kingdoms. It would seem that this is the mode, as far as we can judge, this is

the destiny, the rule of things, established by Providence, by which knowledge, letters, and Christianity shall be returned by the descendants of those poor ignorant barbarians who were brought here as slaves, to the country from which they came.

Who but must wonder, who can fail to see what appears to be so plainly the indication in the providence of God. He who now goes back to Africa under the auspices of this Society is an intelligent man. He knows that he is an immortal man, what his ancestors hardly knew except from that instinctive principle which pervades all human nature, that there is an hereafter. He has the lights of knowledge; he has the lights of Christianity, and he goes back infinitely more advanced in all that makes him a respectable human being than his ancestors were when they were brought from the barbarism of Africa to slavery in the United States. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the ways of Providence are dark and intricate. Our imagination traces them in vain. We do not see where the combination ends; but we may depend upon it that since there are various races upon earth, since there are, as it seems to me unquestionable that there are, instructive repulsions between these races grown up during thousands of years by difference of climate and difference of color, there is nevertheless an end in view in the providence of our Creator which will be promotive of the happiness of all by the agency of the benevolent and well disposed in this modern and civilized age. Emigration from land to land—emigration from country to country, is one of the new and striking ideas of this age. I say it is a new idea. I do not mean that emigration from region to region has not been known from time immemorial, but I say as a great movement of society, as a great operation in the commercial, political, and moral world, emigration has now become an em-

Hon. Mr. Webster's Address.

real and predominant idea and object.— We see it in more instances than one and in more relations than one.

One of the wisest gentlemen that it has ever been my fortune in public life to be concerned with, the late Lord Ashburton, in a correspondence which he had with this government while here, remarked that it seemed to be the design of Providence,—by facilitating the intercourse between country and country, by causing the transmission of men from one continent to another, to be only the work of so much time, and that a short time, and that time continually growing shorter,—by that particular branch of advancement in the arts, to average the population of the world upon the area of the world, to enable Europe to pour forth her over population, and to spread that population upon the too thinly peopled country of North America. This great work of averaging men upon acres, of giving every man breadth and room and space, especially as applied to our Anglo-Saxon race, to spread them with their knowledge and their principles, their activity, and their energy, and their love of liberty, civil and religious, over the largest possible space on the habitable globe, is the great idea of emigration in our time. We cannot stop it. We ought not to desire to stop it. It has for a time a convenience. It brings among us persons not as yet entirely or very much acquainted with our system, bringing perhaps in many cases to many of the notions in which they were bred, to the new country to which they come. That is the affair of a generation; and all the evil that is in it is suppressed, overgrown, and done away with in the next generation.— Of all those foreigners who are among us now, stretching all the way from the sea coast to the Mississippi and beyond the Mississippi, English, Irish, French, Germans, from whatsoever country, a generation

hence, they are all Americans like ourselves. (Applause.) We cannot resist this course of things if we would, and we ought not to resist it if we could. It is in that order of things, in that destiny of nations, which is prescribed by the providence of God, and to which we must submit.

There is another sort of emigration. It is the emigration from the New World, or this Western continent, to the Eastern—the emigration of the free colored race, with some degree of information, with some notions of religion and free government, and with some notions of what belongs to civilized life, and in many respects with a considerable idea of that, from these United States back to the land of Ham, from which their fathers were brought in chains and slavery.

I do not know, I do not profess to foresee, what may happen in years to come, or in generations to come, but I say with frankness and confidence, that it appears to me that the emigration of the free blacks from this country to Africa is destined to produce great good. If it be true, as I believe it is, without entering into any physical argument on the subject, that an amalgamation of the races here is not practicable, then the necessary result is that a separation of the races so as to enable each to pursue its own ends, its own social institutions, its own physical alliances and affinities, is what humanity requires under the influence of the same general principles of public liberty, and under the influence of the same light of the Christian religion. This appears to me to be practicable and desirable.

There are half a million of persons in the United States, of the African race, free.

Well, it is a great work to place them in a condition and in a place in which they may not only be free, but in which they may be subject to no feeling of inferiority. No man flourishes, no man grows in a

Hon. Mr. Webster's Address.

state of conscious inferiority, any more than a vegetable grows in the dark. He must come out. He must feel his equality. He must enjoy the shining sun in the Heavens as much as those around him before he feels that he is in all respects a man. (Applause.) Now it appears to me that this emigration is not impracticable. What is it to the great resources of this country, to send out a hundred thousand persons a year to Africa? In my opinion, without any violation of the analogies which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of our commercial regulations, upon the same principles as have already been stated by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, who has addressed the meeting, it is within our constitution—it is within the powers and provisions of that constitution, as a part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave trade. If we look now to other instances, we shall see how great may be the emigration of individuals, with slight means from government.

What has been the result within a very few years? Why, if the efforts of this Society, sustained and encouraged by the General Government, should in five years accomplish half as much as has been accomplished in Ireland by individual action and very slight governmental support in the emigration of persons from Ireland, the whole work would be done. A million and a half of persons have become emigrants from Ireland within a very few years. There has been an actual diminution of the population of Ireland to the extent which I have mentioned, within some three or four or five years. They come here, a white race, they join a white race, laboring men, in the general well disposed, they go into our forests, at first not well acquainted with our institutions, gradually obtaining that information, surrendering

themselves to the general current and tone and feeling of society, becoming more and more industrious, until, as I have said, in the next generation, they are Americans without reference to origin. If to this extent the population of Ireland has been poured upon this country and upon Canada, and perhaps in some degree upon the possessions in Asia—if to the extent of one million and a half of persons the general population of Ireland has been diminished within five years, when these whites come from that land and join whites here, what could we not do to accomplish the object of sending free black persons to join other free black persons in the country of their ancestors?

At this late hour of the evening, gentlemen, it is not my intention to pursue these remarks. I concur entirely in the views suggested by both the resolutions before the meeting. I wish prosperity to this institution. I wish to see that done which shall comport most with the interests and the character and the improvement of all those persons of color who are free, and who choose to go to a country of their own. I think it is for their interest. I think it is for the interests of the country itself, especially of the North. I say nothing of the South with which I am not so much acquainted. But I believe it is right: I believe it is expedient to follow the example of the patriarch, and say to these, our black fellow citizens, take the right hand and we will take the left. Let us be harmonious, and let us wish each other well; let us do all that we can for the harmony and the happiness of us all, but trust to God that in your destiny, in the land of your fathers, you will be happier than you are here, and trust to God also, that when you shall have left us, you will leave us, not less happy than if you were to remain among us.

Election of Officers.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Colonization Rooms to-morrow, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

COLONIZATION ROOMS. }
January 21, 1852. }

The Society met according to adjournment. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., being the oldest Vice President present, was, in the absence of the President, called to the Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the Society were read.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., the Rev. Joseph Tracy, and the Rev. J. B. Pinney, were appointed a Committee to nominate a President and Vice Presidents of the Society for the ensuing year—whereupon, the following named persons were nominated and elected :

PRESIDENT :

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

1. General John H. Cooke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles Epton Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Maryland.
7. Moses A. Allen, of N. Y.
8. Gen. Walter Jones, of District of Columbia.
9. Joseph Gales, of District of Columbia.
10. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. Rev. James O. Andrew, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
12. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
13. Eliza Whittlesey, of Ohio.
14. Walter Lowrie, of N. Y.
15. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
16. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.
17. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
18. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of District of Columbia.
19. Rev. William Wmams, D. D., of Mississippi.

20. James Boorman, of New York.
21. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
22. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
23. Peter V. Brown, of New Jersey.
24. James Garbold, of Virginia.
25. William Hall, of Delaware.
26. Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.
27. Gerard Radston, of England.
28. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, of New Jersey.
29. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D., of England.
30. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
31. Thomas R. Hazard, of R. I.
32. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Virginia.
33. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.
34. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
35. James Raley, of Mississippi.
36. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., of N. Y.
37. Elliott Cresson, of Pennsylvania.
38. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
39. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.
40. Rev. Beverly Waugh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Episcopal Church.
41. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of South Carolina.
42. Moses Shepard, of Maryland.
43. Rt. Rev. Bishop Mellvane, of Ohio.
44. Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Tennessee.
45. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
46. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
47. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of New Jersey.
48. H. L. Lumpkin, of Georgia.
49. James Lenox, of New York.
50. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
51. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.
52. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
53. Thomas W. Withams, of Conn.
54. Simon Greckett, of Mass.
55. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
56. Rev. Lovick Pierce, D. D., of Ga.
57. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
58. Samuel Gurney, of England.
59. Charles McMicken, of Ohio.
60. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.
61. Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana.
62. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Virginia.
63. Frederic P. Stanton, of Tenn.
64. Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D., of New York.
65. John Beveridge, of New York.
66. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.
67. Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey.
68. Henry W. Collier, of Alabama.

On motion, the Annual Report was referred to the Board of Directors.

On motion of Rev. John Mac-

Resolutions—Adjournment.

lean, D. D., the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with our venerable President, the Hon. Henry Clay, in his present protracted illness, by which we are deprived of his presence and able counsels at this annual meeting of our Society, to which he has, from its foundation, devoted himself with signal ability and unwavering fidelity; and that we hold him in affectionate and grateful remembrance for the distinguished services he has rendered in the prosecution of the great scheme of African Colonization.

On motion of Francis Hall, Esq., the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That the cause of African Colonization commends itself more forcibly than ever to the christian community, in view of its *missionary aspect*; presenting, as it does, a wide and open door of access for the Bible, and the preaching of the Gospel to the millions upon that dark continent of heathenism, through the Republic of Liberia, which is now prosperously sustaining churches, missionaries, and schools, in every town and settlement within its jurisdiction.

Resolved, That to the christian ministry and churches of all denominations, whether north or south, this Society will still, as heretofore, look with confidence for their continued prayers and liberality in its behalf.

The following resolutions were also adopted :

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have been ever ready to rejoice in the multiplication of free governments, in all lands and upon either continent; and whereas, it is a principle of American policy to establish relations of amity and commerce, with every nation of freemen, who, having declared independence, are able to maintain it; therefore,

Resolved, That if the Republic of Liberia, founded on the model of our own government, on the western coast of Africa, though it be the least among the sovereignties of the earth, is as much entitled to recognition now, as it will be when "the little one shall become a thousand, and the strong one a mighty nation."

Therefore, the American Colonization Society feel it their duty respectfully again to urge the recognition of the Liberian Republic to the favorable consideration of the United States Government.

Resolved, That we gratefully appreciate the recommendation of the Governors of several of the States, that legislative action should be taken, and appropriations made for the purpose of advancing the ends of this Society; and that the several State auxiliary Societies be requested to memorialize the legislatures of their respective States, soliciting State appropriations for the purpose of removing the free people of color to the Republic of Liberia.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1853, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Am. Col. Soc.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington, Jan. 20, 1852.

THE Board of Directors of the

American Colonization Society met according to adjournment, at 12 o'clock M.

Delegates appointed.

On motion, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and G. P. Disosway, Esq., was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The Rev. J. Orcutt opened the exercises with prayer.

The Secretary of the Society reported that the following named gentlemen had been regularly appointed by the several Auxiliary State Societies as Delegates to this Board, viz:

Vermont Col. Soc.—Hon. James Meacham.

Massachusetts Col. Soc.—Hon. B. Thompson, Hon. William Appleton, James Hayward, Esq., Dr. John Green, B. C. Clark, Esq., Rev. Joseph Tracy.

Connecticut Col. Society—Hon. Truman Smith, Hon. Charles Chapman, Hon. Origen S. Seymour, James Brewster, Esq., Rev. John Orcutt.

New York State Col. Society—Rev. J. B. Pinney, *Life Director*, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., *Life Director*, D. M. Reese, M. D., G. P. Disosway, Esq., Hon. D. S. Gregory, Francis Hall, Esq., Thomas G. Talmadge, Esq., Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.

New Jersey Col. Soc.—Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D.

Pennsylvania Col. Soc.—William V. Pettit, Esq., Peter J. Clark, Esq.

Virginia Col. Soc.—Rev. Philip

Slaughter, Hon. John S. Caskie, Gov. John B. Floyd, S. S. Baxter, Esq., Robert B. Bolling, Esq., Wm. H. McFarland, Esq., Richard L. Moncure, Esq., P. V. Daniel, jr., Esq., Robert G. Scott, Esq., Hon. Jeremiah Morton.

Louisiana Col. Soc.—Hon. S. W. Downs, Hon. John Moore, Hon. Aristide Landry, William L. Hodge, Esq.

Knoxville, Tenn., Col. Soc.—Hon. F. P. Stanton, Hon. James C. Jones.

Ohio Col. Soc.—Committee of Correspondence—Hon. John McLean, Hon. Thomas Corwin, Hon. J. L. Taylor, Hon. D. T. Disney, Hon. E. Newton, William D. Galaher, Esq., E. D. Mansfield, Esq.

Of the foregoing Delegates the following were present: Hon. B. Thompson, James Hayward, Esq., and Rev. Joseph Tracy, from Massachusetts; Hon. O. S. Seymour, and Rev. J. Orcutt, from Connecticut; Rev. J. B. Pinney, A. G. Phelps, Esq., D. M. Reese, M. D., G. P. Disosway, Esq., and Francis Hall, Esq., from New York; Rev. John Maclean, D. D., and Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., from New Jersey; William V. Pettit, Esq., and Peter V. Clark, Esq., from Pennsylvania; Rev. Philip Slaughter, and Hon. Jeremiah Morton, from Virginia; Hon. John Moore, from Louisiana; Hon. F. P. Stanton, from Tennessee; and Rev. W. McLain, *Life Director*.

Resolutions—Officers nominated.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

On motion, Messrs. Phelps and Reese were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

A statement of the doings of the Executive Committee during the past year was read, and submitted to the consideration of the Board.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Wednesday, January 21st.

The Board of Directors met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Rev. Dr. Maclean presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Hon. Henry Clay be informed that if the state of his health will admit of his seeing the members of this Board, they will be happy to call upon him at any time that may suit his convenience, and that he may be pleased to designate.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report upon the proper method of forming the roll of the Board of Directors for the present year, and of the correct interpretation of the constitution relative to the Board of Directors, and of the basis of representation.

Messrs. Pinney, Maclean and Tracy were appointed this committee.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to nominate officers of this Board for the present year. The chair appointed Messrs. Orcutt, Tracy and Slaughter; to which committee, on motion, the Rev. Mr. Pinney was added.

The committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account reported, that they had discharged the duty, and found it to be correct according to the exhibit. (For which see page 36.)

The Rev. Dr. Maclean who had been requested to present to the Hon. Mr. Clay, President of the Society, the resolution of this Board in regard to their calling upon him, reported, That he had waited upon Mr. Clay, and presented to him the resolution passed by this Board of Directors, expressive of their desire to call upon him, if the state of his health would admit of his seeing them, and that Mr. Clay would be much gratified to see the members of the Board, but that he must forego that pleasure as he has been advised to avoid as much as possible the excitement arising from conversation.

The Rev. Dr. Eddy presented a communication from the New Jersey State Colonization Society, in relation to a purchase of land made for that Society in Africa; which, on motion of Mr. Disoway, was referred to a special committee.

Roll of the Board of Directors—Officers elected.

Messrs. Clarke, Pettit, and Disosway were appointed.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

—
Thursday, January 22d.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of forming the roll of the Board of Directors, for the present year, &c., made a report, which after a very full discussion, was amended and adopted. The following is an extract from the report:

The committee further report, that hereafter, at the organization of the Board of Directors, a committee on commissions shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the commissions, to prepare a table stating the number of Directors to which each State Society is entitled, and to report a correct roll of Directors for the year.

—That for their guidance as to the number of Delegates to which each State Society is entitled, the Recording Secretary be directed to have prepared a table exhibiting the amount of funds received from each State, from all sources, to the 31st December, and no later.

—That among these funds be included the amount which any State Society may have expended in fitting out any expedition, sent through and in co-operation with the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, in accordance with the resolution pass-

ed by the Board of Directors at their annual meeting in January, 1851.

—That the roll of Delegates so made, if approved by the Board of Directors, shall, with the Life Directors, be considered as forming the Board for the ensuing year.

—And further, that the several State Societies may fill vacancies, and also may complete the lists of their several delegations, if they deem it expedient, having respect to the article of the constitution on the appointment of delegates.

The committee appointed to nominate officers of this Board for the present year, reported as follows:

The committee on nomination of officers have attended to the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report the following:

Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. Wm. McLain.

Recording Secretary, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.

Executive Committee, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The report was accepted, and the gentlemen named were severally elected.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That in all cases hereafter, when an Auxiliary Society shall desire to send out an expedition of emigrants to Liberia, they shall communicate such desire to the Executive Committee, and thereafter they shall act in the further

Resolutions—New Jersey Col. Society.

progress of such expedition as the agents of this Society, and account for the expenses thereof with the Executive Committee; and such Society shall be credited in account as for a donation with such sum as may be raised and contributed by such Auxiliary Society, and so accounted for with the said Committee.

The Rev. Mr. Slaughter presented the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:

Whereas, the Constitution of the American Colonization Society declares that the object to which its attention is exclusively directed, is "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa," therefore

Resolved, That the publication of schemes of emancipation, and arguments in their favor, in the African Repository, and other official documents of this Society, is a departure from our fundamental law, and should be excluded from such documents.

The committee to whom was referred the communication from the New Jersey Colonization Society, made the following report, which was adopted:

The committee appointed to consider the subject of the purchase of a body of land in or contiguous to the territory of the Republic of Liberia, by the New Jersey Colonization Society, respectfully report,

That they have taken the same into consideration, and recommend to the Board the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this subject be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions that when they shall be satisfied by evidence from Liberia that a perfect title to said land has been vested, the sum of ——— (being the consideration for said land,) be paid to the person or persons entitled to receive it.

Resolved, That the land so acquired be used for the purpose designated in the communication from the New Jersey Colonization Society, of the 21st January, 1852.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, the thanks of the Board were presented to Anson G. Phelps, Esq., for the courteous and efficient manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of this body.

The minutes were then read and approved. After which, on motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, the Board adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1853, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Slaughter.

ANSON G. PHELPS,

Chairman.

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY,

Secretary

Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,

Cr.

From 1st January, 1851, to 1st January, 1852.

To Balances due the Society per last report.....	\$6,422 24		By Balances due by the Society per last report.....	\$7,480 68
Cash on hand.....	80 41	6,502 65	Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:			Old Debts.....	2,842 24
Colonial Store.....		566 25	Salaries of Physicians in Liberia.....	720 00
Legacies.....		19,406 98	Colonial Store.....	90 74
Emigrants.....		4,781 42	Passage of emigrants, charter of vessels, provisions, &c.....	
Poor's Claim.....		37,800 00	Miscellaneous.....	35,728 77
Donations.....		25,801 40	Compensation to agents, and other expenses in collecting funds.....	923 20
African Repository.....		1,991 42	Salaries of the Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Clerk of the Am. Col. Soc., rent of office, fuel and stationery, paper for the Annual Report and printing, travelling expenses on office business, &c.....	4,908 59
Miscellaneous.....		241 39	Paper for the African Repository and printing.....	6,147 46
Profit and loss.....		352 26	Profit and loss.....	2,193 20
Total receipts.....	\$97,443 77			424 81
Balances due by the Society.....	6,862 34		Total expenditures.....	60,759 69
			Balances due the Society.....	\$35,149 48
			Cash on hand.....	43,546 42
		\$104,306 11		\$104,306 11

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, January 1st, 1852.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-keeper.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS, } *Auditors.*
D. M. REESE, }

APPENDIX.

Information about going to Liberia.

For the information of all persons who may contemplate emigrating to Liberia, we have prepared the following statement of facts, exhibiting, in a condensed form, the most important subjects, in reference to which we presume information may be desired :

TIME OF SENDING EXPEDITIONS.

Hereafter, it is our intention to send a vessel from Baltimore regularly on the 1st of May, and the 1st of November, of each year; and from Savannah and New Orleans at such times as there are persons enough ready to emigrate to justify the necessary expenditure, of which we will give timely notice. And if circumstances should require it, we will fit out other expeditions from those cities, or from any of the northern ports, so as to accommodate, as far as it is in our power, all persons who may wish to emigrate. We cannot, however, promise to send an expedition at any particular time, (except the two from Baltimore,) unless we can have the assurance of a sufficient number of emigrants to justify us in incurring the expense of chartering and fitting out a vessel. It is important, therefore, that applicants for emigration should give us early notice of their desire to go to Liberia, and *of the time when they will be ready.*

LENGTH OF THE VOYAGE.

The length of the voyage from Baltimore or Savannah is from thirty to forty days—the average is about thirty-five days. From New Orleans it is ten to fifteen days longer.

ACCOMMODATIONS ON BOARD.

Emigrant vessels are always fitted

up expressly for the comfortable accommodation of the emigrants; and abundance of good provisions is always put on board, of which the master of the vessel has the charge, with instructions to furnish the emigrants with everything necessary to their health and comfort.

AMOUNT OF BAGGAGE, &c., ALLOWED TO EACH ADULT EMIGRANT FREE OF CHARGE FOR TRANSPORTATION.

Our rule is to allow each adult emigrant the bulk of two barrels, or ten cubic feet, in addition to the bed and bedding necessary for the voyage, which latter it is expected, of course, they will furnish themselves. A proportional allowance for children. It is expected that those who wish to take bulky articles of furniture, and boxes of goods, will pay freight on them, at the rate of \$1 50 a barrel.

WHAT EMIGRANTS SHOULD TAKE WITH THEM.

1. *Clothing.* Every emigrant ought to be well supplied with clothing, previous to leaving home, both for winter and summer, similar to what he needs in this country. Though there is no winter in Liberia, yet during at least one-half the year, warm clothing is necessary to comfort, and the preservation of health.

2. *Mechanical tools.* Those emigrants who are mechanics ought to carry with them the tools of their trade. Indeed, all emigrants ought to have the common tools used in carpenter's work, such as axe, hatchet, handsaw, auger, &c.

3. *Agricultural implements.* Every emigrant, whether a mechanic or a farmer, ought to be supplied with the ordinary gardening implements,

Information about going to Liberia.

such as hoes, spades, rakes, &c. As the soil of Liberia is much more easily broken up for planting than that of this country, the larger agricultural implements, as ploughs, harrows, &c. are not absolutely necessary to farming operations, though they are advantageous in carrying on these operations on a large scale.

4. *Cooking utensils and table furniture.* As every family is expected to keep house, they ought to have a supply of necessary cooking utensils and table furniture.

5. *Household furniture.* In consequence of the space occupied in the vessel by chairs, tables, bedsteads, and other large articles of furniture, it is generally very inconvenient for such things to be taken. Consequently, though we are disposed to accommodate emigrants in every way in our power, we cannot encourage them to expect to take such articles. In view of the want of room in the vessel to pack them securely, and consequently of the risk of their being broken or damaged during the voyage, as well as the cost of transportation, and the greater comfort of the emigrants on board, when the vessel is not thus crowded, we would advise applicants for emigration to dispose of such articles of furniture previous to the time of sailing. In emigrating to a distant country, they must expect to put up with some inconvenience at first—must not expect to commence house-keeping in Liberia just where they left off in this country. All these articles can be purchased there in style and quality, not much inferior to the best in this country, at the cost of about fifty per cent., (frequently less,) advance on the price of similar articles in the U. States.

6. *Additional articles.* Those who can afford it, would do well to take with them a keg or two of nails for

shingling, &c.; also some common cotton goods—bleached and brown shirting, calico, handkerchiefs, (fancy patterns,) and various kinds of cheap stuff for pantaloons and coats or jackets, and other necessary articles of wearing apparel; also some money (gold or silver.) These will be useful to them in erecting their houses, and paying for any labor they may need. All these articles can be purchased in Liberia; but as they generally cost more there than in this country, and as the expense of transportation is not much, it would be well for those who can afford it, to furnish themselves with a small supply of such articles. To these might be added a barrel or two salted provisions, in case, on inquiry at the place of embarkation, (where they can be purchased,) it is found that they can be carried. Emigrants should always carry with them a variety of good garden seed; sealed up in vials or bottles, or wrapped in paper, and packed in saw-dust to prevent injury during the voyage.

EXPENSE OF EMIGRATION.

The actual expense incurred in the transportation of emigrants to Liberia may be set down at the average of \$30 for adults, and \$15 for children under twelve years, which, added to the average cost of subsistence during the first six months after their arrival—say \$50 for adults, and \$25 for children—makes \$80 for the former, and \$40 for the latter, or a general average of \$60. The average of \$50, as previously stated, has been found by experience to be insufficient to meet all the various expenses necessarily incurred. This average of \$60, we expect to receive from those persons who are fully able to pay their own way. The Society, however, will not refuse to send any who are unable to pay, in part or in whole, the neces-

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sary expense of transportation and support, but will give a free passage to all who are not able to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after their arrival, by furnishing them with provisions and medical attendance when necessary, and providing them houses to live in; thus taking care of them a sufficient length of time to enable them to make arrangements to take care of themselves.

ACCLIMATING FEVER.

On this point, we quote from Dr. Lugenbeel's *Sketches of Liberia*, in which may be found a full account of the diseases of Liberia.

"The physical system of every individual who removes from a temperate to a tropical climate must undergo some change—must experience some process of acclimation, which may, or may not, be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to the constitutional peculiarities of the individual, his previous habits of life, the state of his mind with respect to calmness and patience, or irritability and disquietude; together with other imaginable circumstances. Some persons, in passing through the process of acclimation have very little, if any, fever, and are not at all interrupted in their daily avocations by sickness, during the acclimating process. Others are not so highly favored, and some die during the first few months of their residence in Liberia—not always in consequence of the violence of the fever, but frequently in consequence of not exercising the necessary precautions in the preservation of health; such as proper attention to their habits, diet, and clothing, to the extent of exposure to the heat of the day, as well as to the damp and chilling night-air, and especially to the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude. In some cases, the physical system becomes sufficiently adapted to the climate to resist the surrounding deleterious influences, in two or three months. In other cases, a year or more elapses before this desirable point is reached; the individual in the mean time being subject to occasional attacks of chills, followed, of course, by more or less fever."

Once safely through the acclimating process, the individual may, by the exercise of such prudence as

common sense would dictate, enjoy as good health as in most parts of the United States. In reference to this, we again quote from Dr. Lugenbeel's *Sketches*.

"The majority of colored immigrants, who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of their health as an enlightened judgment would dictate, usually enjoy as good health, after the first year of their residence in Liberia, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States. In some cases, indeed, the state of the health of immigrants is decidedly improved by the change of residence from America to Africa. The large majority of cases of sickness that came under my observation, among those persons who had resided a year or more in Liberia, was in indolent, and consequently, indigent, persons, whose prudence was commensurate with their improvidence. Indeed, in view of the heedlessness, carelessness, and indolence of some persons, who were scarcely ever sick, I was astonished at their continued exemption from disease."

We may here add, that emigrants are always furnished with necessary medical attendance, by competent physicians in the employ of the Society; and that it is important to pay strict attention to the advice and directions of the attending physician.

QUANTITY OF LAND GIVEN TO EMIGRANTS.

By the laws of Liberia, each emigrant on his arrival receives *five acres* of good land, or if he prefers it, a town lot. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family, not exceeding ten acres. This allowance may seem small, but in consequence of the great productiveness of the soil, it is abundantly sufficient for the comfortable and independent subsistence of all who will properly cultivate it. Any person who desires a greater quantity, can usually purchase it from the Government of Liberia, at from one to five dollars an acre, according to the location.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY, SOIL, AND PRODUCTIONS.

Liberia does not consist, as some

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suppose, of arid plains and burning sands, but of hills and valleys, covered with the verdure of perpetual spring, presenting to the eye of the observer, as viewed from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean, the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hill-top rising above hill-top towards the vast interior. The country is well watered by many beautiful streams; the banks of some of which present encouraging scenes of agricultural industry.

The *soil* of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quality, and productiveness. There is, however, no very poor land in Liberia; and most of it is very rich, not surpassed perhaps by any other country in the world.

Among the numerous agricultural *products* of Liberia, we may specify as *exportable articles*, rice, coffee, cotton, sugar, arrow-root, ginger, pepper, and ground-nuts, all of which can be raised in quantity and quality not surpassed by similar products in any other part of the world. Of other vegetables that may be abundantly raised, we may specify, as the principal, sweet-potatoes, lima or butter-beans, snap-beans, peas, cucumbers, melons of various kinds, beets, radishes and carrots, besides several articles peculiar to tropical countries, as cassadas, yams, &c., Indian corn, or maize, grows very well on some lands; not so well, however, as in some parts of the U. States.

A great variety of fruits grow plentifully; some of which are, the orange, lime, lemon, pine-apple, guava, mango, papaw, cocoanut, tamarind, soursop, chiotia, and okra; to which may be added the plantain and the banana, the former of which is one of the most luscious and wholesome fruits in the vegetable kingdom, easily cultivated, and affording an excellent and nutritious article of food.

Domesticated *animals* of every necessary kind, and in any required number, may be raised with much less trouble and expense than in this country—such as beeves or bullocks, cows, sheep, goats, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks and chickens. Besides which, numerous kinds of wild game, including deer of several varieties, are very plentiful; also a variety of excellent fish in the rivers. So that, no industrious man need apprehend any difficulty in getting enough animal as well as vegetable food.

To the industrious agriculturist, therefore, Liberia offers an inviting home—a home in which all the necessities, and many of the luxuries of life may be produced, with much less labor than in this country.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS.

In reference to the climate, we quote from *Sketches of Liberia* as follows:

“On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant. The extremes of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65° and 90°. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, is about 76°, and during the dry season about 84°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°.”

“The only recognized division of the year into seasons is the *wet* or *rainy* and the *dry* season, or, in common parlance, the “rains” and the “dries;” the former of which answers nearly to our summer and autumn, and the latter to our winter and spring. During the half of the year commencing with May, much more rain falls than during the other half commencing with November. As a general rule, however, it may be stated, that some rain falls during every month in the year; and in every month there is some fine, clear, pleasant weather.”

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES.

By the aid of the Government of Liberia and several Benevolent Institutions in this country, good free schools have been established in nearly all the settlements; so that all parents can avail themselves of the facilities thus afforded for the education of their children. Efforts are now making in this coun-

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try for the establishment of a regular collegiate Institution in Liberia, which it is hoped will soon be put into operation. And here we may state a fact very encouraging in view of the future prosperity of Liberia: as a general rule, the children born there are as far advanced in education as children of the same age in most communities in this country. The privilege of having their children properly educated, and thus prepared for future usefulness and happiness, is one worthy of the consideration of the free people of color in the United States.

POLITICAL PRIVILEGES.

The government of the Republic of Liberia may, in every essential particular, be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States; and the citizens of that Republic enjoy equal privileges with the white citizens of this country. Colored emigrants are invested with the rights and privileges of citizenship immediately on their arrival; but no white person is, under any circumstances, allowed to become a citizen; consequently, white residents cannot hold any office in the Government, or have the privilege of voting.

RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES.

Not the least among the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Liberia are those which pertain to the worship of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, whose providential superintendence has been so signally exhibited in the establishment and progress of that Republic. And perhaps in no other country in the world are the ordinances of Christianity and the ceremonies of divine worship observed with more strictness and regularity. Probably a larger proportion of the citizens of Liberia are members of some Christian Church, than of any other

people in the world. In every settlement, there is one place, or more, of public worship, in which religious services are regularly held.—And several of the pulpits are stately filled by men brought up and educated in Liberia, and exhibiting talents and qualifications highly creditable to themselves and to the institutions at which they were educated.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In conclusion, we would make a few general remarks. And first, in reference to the *advantages* of the emigration of the free people of color from this country to Liberia: these are of a three-fold character, having reference to themselves, to their children, and to the native inhabitants of Africa. A comparison of the condition of the citizens of Liberia with that of the free colored people in this country, drawn from actual observations, must convince every candid observer that the social, political, and religious condition of the former is greatly superior to that of the latter. The free man of color may, therefore, confidently expect to better his own condition by removing to Liberia, where he can enjoy privileges of which he is virtually deprived in every part of this country. Not only can he better his own condition by emigrating to Liberia, but if he is the father of a family of children, he cannot but desire that they should receive the inestimable benefits of intellectual training—benefits that are there freely extended to all, but which can be enjoyed by colored children to a very limited extent in the United States. A country in which our children may be introduced into the temple of knowledge, and may compete with all other aspirants, on the score of merit alone; and in which they may enter the avenues of commercial enterprise,

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of professional distinction and usefulness, or of political rivalry, with the privilege and prospect of being elevated to a position as high as any occupied by their fellow-men in the same community; is certainly vastly preferable to one in which such privileges cannot exist. But, not only in view of bettering their own condition, and affording their children facilities for acquiring an education, and thus becoming qualified to occupy positions of dignity, honor, and responsibility among their fellow-citizens, should the free colored people of this country desire to emigrate to Liberia: among other inducements, that of being instrumental in elevating the benighted native inhabitants of Africa to the true position and dignity of men, deserves the serious consideration of those to whom the finger of Divine Providence clearly points as best calculated to rescue that land from the thralldom of ignorance, and the debasing influences of superstition.

If colored men cannot understand and appreciate such advantages as these, it is not worth their while to go to Liberia! Those, on the contrary, who can and do appreciate them, and who fully resolve to emigrate cheerfully and with a determination to try to overcome every obstacle that may be presented, may confidently expect to live more easily, more comfortably, and more independently, than they can in this country; and may enjoy the satisfaction of aiding in laying the foundation for a great nation, in maturing institutions and laws for the government of a great people, and in redeeming an immense continent from the worst of Pagan darkness and superstition—a work infinitely more sublime and glorious than can possibly be performed by any of the

colored people in *this country*, however favored may be their position, enlarged their opportunities, and determined their energy and perseverance! When the historian comes to write up the labors of their race, who will stand far above all comparison, if not the bold and successful pioneers in the only successful effort ever made for their social, civil, and religious redemption?

Leaving out of view everything touching their own personal interests, there are considerations connected with their race and the destiny before them, which should induce the most highly-favored of them in this country to seek a field of usefulness in Africa. But when we take into consideration that in Liberia is the only place on the face of the earth where they and their children can enjoy the luxury of true freedom, and infinitely advance their social, moral, and intellectual interests, is it not marvelous that any of the free people of color in this country should still prefer their present inferior and unenviable position among the whites, and still cherish the gross delusions of which they have been made the victims, willing to believe the most fabulous stories about Liberia, and shutting their eyes tightly against all the light which shines upon them, and shows it to be a dictate of wisdom, as well as a demand of duty, for them to go to their fatherland, and be MEN!

We are happy to know, and to have it in our power to inform our friends, that some persons have recently gone to Liberia, who rightly appreciate the circumstances of their situation, and who are prepared to make themselves useful and rise to a desirable fame, should their lives be spared; and that others of similar character are preparing to emigrate.

Things which every Emigrant to Liberia ought to know.

Things which every Emigrant to Liberia ought to know.

It is important that all persons who contemplate going to Liberia, should be fully and correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

1. *They should understand that they are going to a comparatively new country;* and, consequently, that they must carry with them the courage and energy to bear the burdens, and to surmount the obstacles naturally belonging to such a state of things.

2. *They must expect to begin life for themselves.* They will not have any friends there who will think and act and contrive and plan for them. They must rely on themselves. They receive a tract of land, in its wild and uncultivated state, and if it is ever cleared and planted, they must do it. They must build a house for themselves, and begin to keep house. And if they have but few of the necessities, and none of the conveniences and luxuries of house-keeping, still they must not be discouraged but "struggle on and struggle ever." Brighter days will come. Every brilliant noon must be preceded by its morning. They must not despise the day of small things, but cheered and sustained by the example of many around them, who commenced life just as they are doing, and are now comfortable and happy, they must press their way onward, and, they will find that industry and perseverance will secure to them plenty and happiness.

3. *They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.* The business of the Society is to help them to get to that country, where they can thenceforward help themselves. Many persons have supposed that the Society would do every thing for them: pay their passage, furnish them every thing to eat and drink after they get to Liberia, and let them live in ease. But the truth is far otherwise. And hence, when they reach Liberia, and begin to find provisions running low, and are made to understand that the time has arrived when they must support themselves, they become offended, abuse the colony and the Society, and pretty nearly everybody and every thing else, and then perhaps they write home to their friends, and advise them not to come to so horrible a place. "These things ought not so to be."

4. *They must expect to work for their living.* How else can they hope to live? Liberia is no unearthly paradise. If men there have not money enough to live on, they must make a living some other way. By the labor of their heads or the labor of their hands, they must get bread for themselves. And it would be well for

them to understand that there is no business more honorable or more important to the welfare of the colony, and profitable to the individual, than the cultivation of the soil. It always yields a liberal reward to the industry of the husbandman.

5. *They ought to be impressed with a sense of the responsibility which will devolve upon them, as members of a free and independent government.* Every citizen of Liberia must consider himself as one of the builders of a great and cultivated nation, a Christian Commonwealth, on the shores of a barbarous continent. The very circumstances in which they are placed, stimulates them to action, and furnishes exciting motives for elevated sentiments and noble conduct.

Persons, therefore, who contemplate going to Liberia, ought to understand beforehand the nature of the duties they will be called to perform. On their arrival there, they will be invested with all the rights of citizens; they must vote at elections, and consider and decide upon the measures most necessary to secure the welfare of the citizens and the stability of the government. The highest offices in the commonwealth are within their reach. They may aspire to them, and, if sufficiently intelligent and virtuous, they may ultimately reach them.

What a reward is thus held out to inspire a pure ambition, and incite a determined effort? Liberia is destined to enlarge itself for ages, and gather within its expanding influence multitudes of the present and millions of the future generations! Interest and duty, hope and fear, patriotism and religion, self-respect and stern necessity, all combine and urge them to act with manly courage and unbending fidelity.

6. *They ought to be sensible that, not only for themselves, but for the benefit of their race, must they labor.* Liberia is, in one respect, a great missionary station, a great centre of light and influence, and it is destined to make all the surrounding tribes and country just what it is, and continues to be. The natives have never before beheld such a spectacle as is presented to their view in the citizens, the houses, the schools, the churches, and the Government of Liberia. Hence they look on with intense anxiety. They feel a desire to copy the example set before them. The natives and the colonists are all mixed together, and thus the style and manners of every family is seen, and an influence for good or for ill, goes forth from every individual. How important, therefore, that colonists, before leaving this country,

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

should be made to feel the immense importance of a correct course of conduct, governed and controlled by thorough religious principle! They ought to be made to feel that it is their highest privilege, as well as their imperative duty, to cast in their lot with the pioneers in the work of

Africa's civil, social, and religious redemption, and sacrifice themselves, if need be, in the stupendous work of spreading free government and civil institutions over all Africa, and bringing her uncounted population all under the dominion of the kingdom of Heaven!

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

It will be recollected that a Colonization Society of colored people was formed in Dorchester county, Maryland, about a year since; but it was determined in the outset to take no definite action in regard to emigrating to Liberia, until they had obtained more full and satisfactory information in regard to it. It was therefore determined to send out a special delegation, to spy out the land; and Messrs. Janifer and Fuller, two of the most respectable and intelligent of their number, were chosen for that purpose. They sailed from Baltimore in the *Liberia Packet*, in July, 1851, and returned on the 12th December. The following is their report, written out and prepared for the press before their arrival, and published word for word. It bears internal evidence of authenticity, enough, we should think, to satisfy the most skeptical.

PREFACE.

The undersigned were appointed in May last, by the Cambridge Colored Colonization Society of Dorchester county, Maryland, delegates to proceed to Liberia, if in our power to get there, and to inform ourselves of the natural advantages of the country, the character of the government, and the present condition and prospects of its inhabitants, and to see what might be the inducements to emigrate. We applied to the Maryland State Colonization Society for a free passage, which they granted us, in the *Liberia Packet*, out and back to the United States. The following report was drawn up by us, and completed on our passage home, every sentence and word just as it now stands. It is not so full as it might be, but we think it contains all the essentials, and all that was required of us by the Society which sent us. On arriving home, we concluded it best to have it printed, that it might be circulated among our friends in Dorchester county and elsewhere, all of whom we could not expect to meet face to face. We have endeavored to do our duty, have examined carefully and candidly, without bias or prejudice, and have made an honest, fair report, without fear or favor. In the main, our impressions are favorable, and so we have expressed ourselves; and it is

our intention speedily to seek in Liberia a home for ourselves and families, leaving others to act as they see fit. This report is respectfully submitted, not only to the Society and our own personal friends, but to the public in general.

By their obedient servants,

BENJ. JANIFER,
THOMAS FULLER, JR.

Baltimore, Dec. 17, 1851.

To the President of the Dorchester Co. African Colonization Society:

SIR:—In the performance of our duty, as set forth in a resolution of this Society, adopted prior to our embarkation for Liberia, in reference to us as the committee chosen to proceed to Africa for personal observation for the benefit of this Society, we proceed to make the following general report:

On Saturday, July 19, we embarked on board of the *Liberia Packet*, and after a pleasant passage of thirty-two days, we arrived at Monrovia, August 28, 1851.

First, upon inquiry and observation, we found the government of Liberia to be of a republican form; the chief magistrate of the State is elected by the people, and the people are represented in their legislative bodies by those of their own choice by ballot, whom they think best qualified, and with whom they believe their interest and privileges will be the safest. The President's cabinet is appointed by himself, with the consent of the Senate. The commissioned officers of the republic are also appointed by the President. We subjoin a list of the names of the public officers in the republic, with their respective salaries:

J. J. Roberts, President, \$1500 per annum.

A. D. Williams, Vice-President, \$4 per diem, during the session of the Legislature.

S. Benedict, Chief Justice of the Republic, \$100 per annum.

B. P. Yates and S. A. Benson, Associate Judges.

J. H. Chavers, Secretary of the Treasury, \$500 per annum.

Daniel Warner, Secretary of State.

H. Teage, Attorney General, \$100 per annum. He also receives \$4 for each case prosecuted, in case of conviction.

John N. Lewis, Brigadier General; pay during service, \$44 per month.

James C. Minor, Collector of Customs.
N. M. Hicks, Register of Wills, &c.

LEGISLATIVE BODY.

SENATORS.—*Montserrado Co.*, J. B. McGill, A. F. Russell. *Grand Bassa Co.*, J. Day, J. Hanson. *Sinco Co.*, Edward Morris, James N. Lewis.

REPRESENTATIVES.—*Montserrado Co.*, B. R. Wilson, D. T. Harris, J. H. Paxton, M. H. Smith. *Bassa Co.*, S. S. Herring, J. H. Cheeseman, D. A. Madison. *Sinco Co.*, Wm. H. Monger.

We further observed that, together with their state officers and legislative body, they have in Liberia all the local officers that are necessary for a well ordered government, in order that the laws may not only be enacted, but faithfully executed: such as sheriffs, magistrates, judges of the courts of quarterly session, marshals, constables, grand and petty juries, clerks of courts, coroners, &c., &c., and these of the best men that the country will afford. And we will here assert that they are all colored men, and further, that there is not a single office filled by a white man. Nor is there but one white man doing business in all Liberia, whose name is Mr. Godlet, a German. These assertions are the results of personal observation, and not of hearsay; for we visited frequently both officers and offices, courts and magistrates' offices, and heard the laws expounded by judges and lawyers, and saw the penalty of the same inflicted on the violator of the laws of the country.

Besides the officers above mentioned, they have a revenue cutter, commanded by Captain Reed Cooper. The officers of the republic are paid out of the public revenue. The revenue not being sufficient to cover the expenses of government, direct taxation is in contemplation. The government expenses for 1850 were \$23,017.27; the amount of receipts for the same was \$18,018.16.

Having satisfied ourselves in relation to the government of Liberia, that it is well adapted to the feelings, capacities, and interests of the people who are now citizens, and to those who shall hereafter emigrate from America to Liberia, and become citizens, we next turned our attention to the soil and its products, which left our minds favorably impressed in its favor. As for the soil, as in all other countries, it varies both in kind and quality.

Near the sea-shore, as a general thing, the soil is rather light and sandy. Nevertheless, there are often to be found near the beach many tracts of good stiff land, and that well covered with large timber and thick undergrowth. But on the banks of the rivers the land is decidedly the best; there, we would say that it is universally

good; perhaps as good as we have seen in America. And judging from the quantities of rice, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, coffee, cassada, ginger, arrow-root, corn, Lima beans, cabbage, &c., with its thousands of tropical productions and fruits, which burden the land and make the hearts of the natives rejoice,—we say, judging from these evidences, we would pronounce that the soil and climate of Liberia is as well adapted to the growth of these things as any other climate perhaps in the world. And we would here add, so far as the products of the country are concerned, the citizens of Liberia have few complaints to make. In our judgment, if they *exerted themselves* a little more, and depended not so much on the natives, they would have none to make. But we are happy to state that the settlers of Liberia are not dependent on the productions of the soil alone for subsistence; for we saw bullocks, or oxen, sheep, goats, hogs, cows, calves, kids, turkeys, ducks, chickens, &c., in abundance. Not only did we see them, but we ate of them almost every day while in Liberia. And for the comfort of those who love such things, we would inform them that they can raise as many as they choose, and cure their pork too in small quantities. For we ate bacon more than once, which was cured in Liberia. In conclusion, on this head, we would say, that no man can starve in Liberia, unless he closes his mouth wilfully, and resolves to die surrounded with the good things of Africa.

As we were in Liberia during the rainy season, of course we can say but little of its climate. During our stay it was very pleasant. We had considerable rain, but not half as much as we expected from what we had heard of the African rains. It did not rain all one day without interruption during our stay in Liberia. And as regards the heat, we were as much disappointed in that as any thing else.

It is a mild, pleasant climate. Some suppose that we could not live in it, but we can; and when there, we wore the same thick clothing that we do in America. We think that there is as much cloth and flannel clothing worn by the Liberians as there are by the same number of citizens in the United States, during the months of March, April, and May. And for your satisfaction we would inform you that we wore our cloth clothes during our stay in Liberia, and found them not only comfortable, but absolutely necessary, and that we did not feel it so warm at any time in Liberia as we left it in the United States in July.

The settlements in Liberia are matters of great interest and importance, especially

when we consider that the new settlers are to make a choice or to choose a home from among the many. For us to give a particular description of each individual settlement, such a one as may guide you in a choice, is both unnecessary in this place, and out of our power to do. But we recommend to you Dr. Lugenbeel's description of the different settlements in Liberia, in which you will find every thing perhaps that is of any moment.

But notwithstanding we would say, that Monrovia is a fine flourishing town, and the capital of the Republic, with about fifteen hundred inhabitants, who appear to enjoy as good health as any citizens of the Republic. It is the principal commercial point in Liberia, though all the settlements on the coast are somewhat so. The streets are wide and regularly laid out, although some of them have many large rocks in them, and we think rather more bushes than the citizens have need of. The geographical position of Monrovia is too well known for us to attempt to give it. The private dwellings of Monrovia are like those of other towns, they correspond generally with the purse of the owner. Hence you may find there private dwellings which cost from twenty-five dollars up to five thousand. We might say many things of Monrovia; but as we will be interrogated by this Society, and called upon to deliver public lectures on Liberia, we deem it unnecessary to write a long report. And we make the same excuse in reference to the other settlements.

Bassa Cove and Edina, the next point visited by us, are rather small settlements, nearly opposite each other, situated near the mouth of the St. John's river. Neither the public nor private buildings are so good as those at Monrovia, though they are sufficiently large and comfortable for all practical purposes. Bassa Cove is one of the principal commercial points in Liberia. Bassa was settled in 1831. The population is about 600. We were told that Edina was considered the most healthy of the two settlements. But the most business is done in Bassa. The land is generally sandy about the Cove and Edina. But there are some as fine coffee trees as any we saw in Liberia; and we would here remark, that coffee seems to thrive in any part of the coast that we visited. We were informed that a very beautiful point, called Fishtown, about three miles distant from Bassa, would be settled in a short time; and for location, we think it preferable to either of the above named towns.

The next settlement visited by us is situated near the mouth of the Sinoe river,

called Greenville. It is thought, in the judgment of your Committee, the prettiest of the towns or settlements in Liberia.—The population of Sinoe county is about 1,000; that of the town of Greenville, 300. This is not so much of a commercial point as the ones above mentioned, but still it is quite a thriving little place. The main street is very handsome, and all the buildings, public and private, present a comfortable appearance, except the Methodist church. But they are making preparations to erect a new one. Greenville, in fact, seems to be in a state of improvement. They have a steam-engine for a saw-mill, which they are about to erect, at a place on the Sinoe river, called Fish Landing. But that which seems to give the most life to Greenville is, that they have had two very fine emigrations recently, all of whom seem to be willing to turn their attention to the agricultural interest.

Any one that knows any thing of the history of Liberia, is perhaps well acquainted with the history of Cape Palmas, the point of our next visit. Therefore, we deem it unnecessary to say much about this interesting colony in our report. The public and private buildings are well built and commodious; and it will not be much out of the way to say, that they bear an air of cleanliness and comfort which would be an improvement to some of the settlements in the republic.

The number of inhabitants of Maryland in Liberia is between 900 and 1000.

The number of churches is four.

These embrace the Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists.

The number of schools in the colony is six. These are supported by the Maryland State Colonization Society, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist missions. There are also six Sabbath-schools, well attended.

There are in the colony two regularly organized Societies of Mutual Relief, one of the males, and the other of the females. There has lately been formed an Agricultural Society, which promises well. There are in operation, in various vicinities of the colony, several schools confined to the instruction of the natives. These schools are supported by different societies of foreign missions in the U.S., and have able teachers, appointed and sent here for that purpose.

The annual exports consist of about 100,000 gallons of palm-oil, some camwood, and a little ivory; also Malagetta pepper. A good business in wood—that is, camwood—can be done in the colony.

The revenue is raised by duties collected on imports chiefly. This does not include large amounts expended annually for in-

ternal improvement by the Society. The revenue of the colony is about \$1800.

The militia of the colony is composed of two volunteer uniformed companies, and one non-uniformed; these parade monthly, except on general parades, which occur semi-annually, when they are commanded by the Lieutenant-colonel, A. Woods.

The street called Maryland Avenue, which runs from Harper to Tubmantown, is a good road, about three miles in length, and is the thoroughfare of the colony. On either side of this road are the dwelling-houses, lots and farms of the colonists. The land about Cape Palmas looks rather thin, but every thing planted seems to thrive well, and, like all the rest of the land on the coast, the farther you go from the beach, the better it is. Hence the impropriety of farmers settling on the beach. In short, we find but one fault with Cape Palmas, and that is, the thickly settled native towns on the Cape, which we hope, in all conscience, will be in due time removed, to the advantage of both parties concerned. We are happy to inform you that, although the farming interest at the Cape has been neglected for a long time, the settlers have at last awakened to a sense of their best interest, and determined to go right to farming, and no humbugging about the matter. And in order to give life and energy to the cause, they have formed an Agricultural Association; and for the benefit of this Society, we obtained a copy of the Constitution of said association.

As it regards the rivers of Liberia, in consequence of the rains, and having to go on board the vessel every evening, we could not get to see much of them. However, one of us got up the St. Paul's river, and the other up the Sinoe; and from what we saw, and from what we learned from old and respectable citizens of Liberia, we think it safe to state, that the St. Paul's is far in advance of any other river in Liberia, in perhaps every respect. There are several fine flourishing settlements on the St. Paul's river, and well cultivated banks show that she is far indeed in advance of her sister rivers in point of agriculture.

On passing through the farms of Messrs. Harris, Blackledge, Jimison, Simpson, Russell, and others, who have gone the right way to work in raising coffee, sugar-cane, rice, potatoes, cassadas, ginger, &c., any man who is in his senses is at once convinced that a colored man with industry and enterprise can live as happy and as comfortable and as independently in Liberia, as he can in any part of the U. States

of America, under present circumstances. —The St. John's and the Benson are also fine large streams, especially the St. John's. But we did not see much of them. In fact, we saw no more of them than we saw in passing from Bassa Cove to Edina. We were informed, however, by those who live on the St. John's, that it is a fine river, whose banks are perhaps as productive as any other in Liberia. Bexley is situated on the banks of the St. John's, about six miles from its mouth. It is said by those who live there, and by others who profess to know, that it is a flourishing farming settlement. But as neither of us saw it, we refer you to Dr. Lugenbeel's report for particulars in reference to Bexley.

The Sinoe river is also a fine, bold stream. One of us was up this river as far as necessary, some five or six miles from its mouth, where there is a farming settlement of some note. The Sinoe is like all the other rivers of Liberia, her banks yield plentifully the good things of the country.

There are many other fine rivers and streams in Liberia, which we did not see. But we saw enough to satisfy us that on the banks of any of them there is good living for the industrious farmer.

As we were in Liberia a short time, and for reasons above stated, we could not get to see as much of the country as we should like, in order to give all the particulars, and consequently, general satisfaction, (but we are happy to state that our want of opportunities and observation are fully supplied by Dr. Lugenbeel's excellent report, of which we hope every individual of this society will possess themselves,) knowing that we should not have an opportunity to give particulars and details like one who had lived in Liberia, we took great pains to compare the Doctor's report with what we saw; and in doing so, we found it in every instance to be strictly true. And further, we took every pains to inquire of the citizens of Liberia, (gentlemen,) whose veracity cannot be doubted, of the correctness of that part of the Doctor's report which we had not an opportunity of testing; and they informed us that every particular was strictly true. Therefore we cordially recommend Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel's report to the careful perusal of every individual who is interested in the subject of emigration to Liberia.*

We would state to this Society, that the people of Liberia seem to us to live as happy, and in the enjoyment of as good health, as any people we have seen in our lives. They seem also to appreciate the privileges

* Copies of Dr. Lugenbeel's Sketches of Liberia will be furnished gratuitously at the Colonization Rooms, Washington City; or will be sent by mail to those who may request them by letter, postpaid.

and position as a people, and in a great measure, avail themselves of the opportunities they have to improve their political and social condition. We would state that, on the St. Paul's river, the people have turned their attention to brick-making, and that upon a pretty large scale, and the farmers on this river are building themselves fine, comfortable, one and two-story brick houses, and furnishing the citizens of Monrovia with all the bricks they want for building purposes, and those of a very good quality.

The water in Liberia is very good, so much so that we did often speak of it. And we can say, that we did not drink of what we would call one glass of bad water during our stay.

We observed that, in every settlement we visited in Liberia, they have good schools; in the larger settlements, two or three, with competent teachers. They are all free schools, supported by benevolent societies in America. And we are happy to state to this Society, that those schools are well filled by the children of the colonists. Besides these every-day schools, there are Sabbath-schools taught in all the churches. We judge, therefore, that the children of the colonists in Liberia are educated with as little expense to their parents as in any other part of the world.

There is being builded in Monrovia a seminary, in which the higher branches of education will be taught. This building will cost some seven or eight thousand dollars.

In most all of the settlements of Liberia, we found literary and benevolent institutions, intended for mutual edification and relief. At Monrovia alone they have some three or four. The settlements are also well supplied with churches. The Baptists and Methodists are the most popular, but, at the same time, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches are well attended.

Under all these favorable circumstances, you will naturally be led to inquire, What are the colonists doing, and what are their reasonable prospects?

We answer, that so far as we were eyewitnesses, they seem to be doing as all other people in the world do. Some are rich, some are doing well, and some are just able to get along in the world, others are poor, and there are those that beg.—Among the citizens of Liberia we find those who have farms under cultivation with their hundreds and thousands of coffee trees, &c., growing, yielding a bountiful reward to the hand of the diligent.—And in Liberia, we see the farms and lots of many (who complain of hard times and poverty) grown over with bushes, and not a single potato planted in them. In the

very countenance of some of the Liberians, we see industry and enterprise depicted; but with others we discover the reverse. And hence the varied condition of the inhabitants. But, upon the whole, we think that the colonists are doing a great deal better than they would have been doing, had they remained in America. And they are aware of that fact, for we saw but three or four in all Liberia who wish to return to America to remain. And for your satisfaction we will give the reason of each of those individuals, as stated to us by themselves. The first was, that the prices of milk and eggs were so high in Liberia, that she did not like the place. The second was, that he could get no work to do, (but took good care to do none,) when at the same time he owned a good lot, in which there was not a single thing growing but bushes and grass. The third said, two of her children were slaves in America, and it would be better for her to be there too. The fourth, she had always been used to living in a large city, and therefore she wanted to return.

So, from all we saw and heard while in Liberia, we can but say that the colonists are a contented and satisfied people; and further, that, in our opinion, an exalted position among the nations of the earth awaits Liberia in the future; and that it is our judgment that it would be indeed to the advantage of the free people of color in the United States to emigrate to Liberia, where they may enjoy all the rights and privileges of freemen.

In relation to the natives, we are glad to state that friendly relations exist between them and the colonists. We saw many natives in the employ of the colonists; and we were informed that their usual wages are twenty-five cents per diem and board. The colonists have also many native boys and girls in their houses as domestic servants; and as such, they are said to be very apt and useful. We think the colonists who have those native boys and girls as servants, have a favorable opportunity of doing them much good, in teaching them our language, the habits of civilization, and the principles and doctrines of our holy religion; and thus qualifying them for missionaries to their respective tribes when returned. Whether or not the colonists in general avail themselves of this favorable opportunity of doing them good, is for the colonists, and not for us to say.

Signed, THOMAS FULLER, JR.
BENJAMIN JANIFER.

At sea, on board the Liberia Packet,
December, 1851.

Table of Emigrants.

[illegible]

Emigration to Liberia.

TABLE OF EMIGRANTS—Continued.

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Total number.
54	Barque Union.....	May.....1841	.	.	1	20	20	40
55	Ship Salada.....	October...1841	4	81	84	.	.	.	14	2	3	229
56	Ship Mariposa.....	June.....1842	1	16	10	14	.	5	19
57	Barque Globe.....	December.1842	18	.	3	.	.	.	77	80
58	Barque Renown.....	June.....1843	5	5	.	.	80
59	Barque Latrobe.....	November.1843	91	91
60	Brig Lume Rock.....	March.....1844	91
61	Ship Virginia.....	June.....1844	7	33	21	18	.	.	98
62	Brig Chipola.....	November.1844	1	98
63	Ship Roanoke.....	November.1845	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	166	13	.	.	.	.	.	25	34	2	.	.	.	.	187
64	Barque Rothschild....	January...1846	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1	.	.	.	.	61
65	Barque Chatham.....	May.....1846	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
66	Sch. Mary Wilkes....	January...1847	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	25	.	.	.	4	.	1	.	3	.	.	3	.	.	11
67	Liberia Packet.....	December.1846	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
68	Liberia Packet.....	September.1847	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	13	24	1	.	.	23	35	37	.	28	.	.	6	.	.	40
69	Barq. Nehemiah Rich..	January...1848	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	28	1	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	129
70	Brig Amazon.....	February..1848	.	.	1	.	8	.	.	.	.	134	4	.	54	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	44
71	Liberia Packet.....	April.....1848	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	138
72	Brig Col. Howard....	May.....1848	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	8	.	2	.	9	142	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	99
73	Liberia Packet.....	September.1848	.	.	4	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31
74	Barque Laura.....	January...1849	.	.	3	.	3	.	.	.	1	46	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	19	.	.	.	.	.	151
75	Liberia Packet.....	February..1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	55
76	Clintonia Wright.....	April.....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
77	Barque Huma.....	May.....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	131	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	181
78	Liberia Packet.....	August....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2	.	11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
79	Liberia Packet.....	January...1850	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	69	65	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	135
80	Barque Chieftain....	February..1850	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	154	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	167
81	Seh. D. C. Foster....	March....1850	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	35	19	.	17	.	.	.	78

